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Wales 4:33

997
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 Llywarch—Llawhoni
 Edwyn—Tewdwr Mawr

AAR

is

THE
HISTORY
OF
WALES,
IN NINE BOOKS:

WITH AN
APPENDIX.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM WARRINGTON,

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BESSBOROUGH.

"Wherever Nature, though in narrow space,
Fosters, by Freedom's aid, a liberal race;
Sees Virtue save them from Oppression's den,
And cries, with exultation, 'These are men';
Though in Bæotia or Batavia born,
Their deeds the story of the world adorn."

HAYLEY'S ESSAY ON HISTORY.



THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

Gough Addt Wales 4.33.

TO HIS GRACE
W I L L I A M
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,
IN WHOSE PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CHARACTER
ARE PRESERVED UNIMPAIRED,
THE HONOURS OF A FAMILY
ILLUSTRIOUS BY DESCENT,
AND
DISTINGUISHED, THROUGH SEVERAL AGES,
FOR A STEADY AND TEMPERATE ADHERENCE
TO THE CONSTITUTION AND LIBERTIES
OF GREAT BRITAIN,
AS WELL AS EXEMPLARY FOR THE
MILDER VIRTUES OF PRIVATE LIFE,
THIS HISTORY
OF A PEOPLE WHO LONG DEFENDED
THE RIGHTS OF NATURE AND OF FREEDOM,
IS INSCRIBED,
BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBEDIENT
AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,
WILLIAM WARRINGTON.

P R E F A C E.

THE circumstances and actions of the People, whose history is related in this work, stand single and original in the annals of the world. A nation, who, from remote antiquity, were distinguished by their independency of spirit, defending for ages the rights of nature and of liberty in the bosom of their native mountains, affords a spectacle sufficiently interesting, to awaken curiosity, to excite admiration, and to call forth every liberal sentiment.

It is therefore a just occasion of regret, as well as of surprise, that the History of Wales is nowhere to be found, to this day, but in the Chronicle of the monk Caradoc of Llancarvan; in which nothing farther is given, than a simple detail of facts. In this interesting field of history, no attempt
has

has yet been made, to investigate the motives of policy, to trace back effects to their causes, to delineate with just discrimination personal or national characters, and to digest the materials of the narration into that perspicuous order which is essential to the grace and utility of historical composition.

THIS deficiency, the author has attempted to supply, in the work now offered to the world. The design will be allowed to be laudable; with what success it has been executed, it remains for the public to determine. He flatters himself, that he has opened many new sources of information; he has also been careful to examine the old; and it is with confidence he can say, that he has neither servilely transcribed, nor implicitly followed the modern historians. What he has done, neither precludes, nor is intended to preclude, the future labours of other writers who are deeply read in the Welsh language and manuscripts. The field is still open to a more able historian, and to the profound researches of the learned antiquary.

FROM an idea, that minute inquiries into the antiquities of a country are not properly within the province of the general historian, the author has purposely declined them; and therefore hopes

he shall not be charged with deficiency, in not having executed what it was never his intention to undertake.

It is not the least praise of an historian, that his writings do not discover his country: lest from the sentiments which breathe through the following pages the author should be thought to have failed in this essential point, he thinks it necessary to declare that he is an Englishman; and whatever preponderancy may be discovered in this work to the side of the Welsh, it is neither the partiality of an author to his subject, nor the prejudice of a native; but the voluntary tribute of justice and humanity which is due to the cause of freedom, and the violated rights of nature.

IN the course of this work the author has been much indebted, for the perusal of the works of many valuable writers, to Thomas Faulkner, Esq; of Chester; a gentleman who mingles with deep erudition the liberal desire, of giving his assistance to any design, which may be useful to the republic of letters. He is under the like obligation to Philip Yorke, Esq; of Erthig, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire; whose taste and knowledge in literature, whose gentleness of manners and benevolent spirit, render him

him an amiable friend, and a valuable man. For the improved orthography of the Welsh words interspersed through the work, the author has been indebted to the ingenious Mr. William Owen, of London.

*Necessary DIRECTIONS to the READER who is a Stranger to the WELSH
LANGUAGE; shewing the RIGHT PRONUNCIATION of all the LETTERS
that differ from the ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY.*

TO read Welsh, a right Knowledge of the Alphabet is all that is necessary; for, (not going to a nicety) all the Letters retain one invariable Sound, which must be distinctly pronounced, as there are no Mutes. Letters that are circumflexed must be pronounced long, as *Bôn* like the English Bone; *Bôn*, Boon; *Bîn*, Been, &c.

C, as *C* English in *Ca*; but never soft as in *City*.

Ch, as the Greek χ properly pronounced. If instead of touching the Palate with the Tip of the Tongue to pronounce *K*, you touch it with the Root, it will effect this sound.

Dd, as *TH* English in *Them*; that is very soft; not hard as in *Thought*.

F, as *V* English.

Ff, as *F* and *Ff* English.

G, as *G* English in *God*, but never soft as in *Genius*.

I, as *I* English in *King*, and *ee* in *Been*; but never as *I* in *Fine*. *Fine*, according to the Welsh Orthography, would be pronounced *Veennè*.

Ll, as *L* Aspirated; and can be represented in English only by *Lh* or *Llh*.

Tb, as *Tb* English in *Thought*; but never soft as in *Them*.

U, as *I* English in *Bliss*, *This*, *It*, &c.

W, as *Oo* English in *Good*.

Y, as *U* English in *Burn*, though in the last Syllable of a Word, and all Monosyllables, except *Y*, *Ydd*, *Ym*, *Yn*, *Yr*, *Ys*, *Fy*, *Dy*, *Myn*, it is like *I* in *Sin*, *It*, &c. both its Powers are nearly shewn in the Word *Sundry*, or *Syndry*.

E R R A T A.

Page 46, line 19, for *Suffolk*, read *Sussex*.

48, 14, for *which was allotted*, read *which had been allotted*.

149, 9, for *when land*, read *when lands*.

219, 9, for *and with it*, read *and with them*.

310, 12, for *without attendance*, read *without attendants*.

454, 25, for *devastion*, read *devastation*.

481, 2, for *fo*, read *for*.

481, 5, for *though*, read *thought*.

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O F
C O N T E N T S.

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THE H I S T O R Y O F W A L E S.

B O O K I.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY BEFORE THE
RETREAT OF THE ROMANS OUT OF BRITAIN.

It is probable, that Britain was first colonised by the Gauls,¹ about one thousand years before the birth of our Saviour;² a period of time coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon. The names of Albion,³ and of Britain,⁴ are supposed to have been given to the island by the Belgic Gauls, who inhabited the opposite shores.

¹ Verstegan, cap. IV. p. 88. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum historia, p. 67. Amsterdam edit.

² Whitaker's history of Manchester, 2d edit. vol. I. p. 7. — Ibid. p. 10.

³ On the etymology of this name, see *ibid.* p. 11. and Humfrey Lluyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 8. N. B. He wrote in the year 1568.

IT is common to all people, who derive their ideas from the few objects which arise in a state of nature, to give names to persons and to things, from the peculiar circumstances incident to them. Accordingly, the Gauls gave to this country the name of Albion, from the eminences and chalky cliffs, which were constantly exposed to their view.¹

IT was somewhat more than three centuries before the Roman invasion of Britain, that the northern tribes of Europe began that spirit of emigration, which afterwards like a deluge overwhelmed the western world. It was likewise about that period, that the Belgæ, forsaking their native seats upon the banks of the Rhine, migrated into Britain,² and settled in the western, and in the southern parts of the island.³

THE language of the ancient Britons, their religion and Druidical institutions, as well as their attachment to that *Order* of men called *Bards*,⁴ were exactly similar to those which prevailed among their probable ancestors the Gauls.⁴

BEFORE the time of Cæsar's invasion, the island was divided into three parts, Lloegria or England, Albania or Scotland, and

¹ Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*, 2d edit. p. 10.

² Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, Dublin edit. sect. IV. p. 19.

³ Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*, second edit. p. 232. Buchanan *Hist. Scot. Rer.* p. 55.

⁴ *Beirdd.*

⁴ Buchanan's *Hist. Scot. Rer.* p. 53, 67.

BOOK I. BRITISH HISTORY.

3

Cambria or the province of Wales.¹ Each of these was subdivided into districts under their respective *Reguli*, over which they presided with a limited authority.² The principles of civil liberty are discerned in the polity of ancient Britain, in the restraint which was laid upon the sovereign power by general assemblies, whose concurrence with the royal authority was necessary to enact or to abrogate laws. The order of succession in the British states was commonly hereditary. But the idea of indefeasible right had not, in that early period, affected the principles of government; for the line of succession was frequently broken by the king and nobility, whose concurrence for this purpose was absolutely necessary.³ The equal division of property by *Gavel kind* uniformly took place in the disposition of private inheritance.⁴

SUCH was the regulation of the British states in times of tranquillity, when no domestic or foreign danger threatened the public safety. But in seasons of emergency, when the Commonwealth called for the union and the force which result from the government of one head, the confederated princes elected a supreme sovereign;⁵ and the person who was called to this dignity

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 10.

² Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 171. Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, 2d edit. vol. I. p. 336. vol. II. p. 6, 92, 206.

³ Whitaker, *ibid.* vol. I. p. 335.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 363.

⁵ Rowland, p. 171. Whitaker, *ibid.* vol. I. p. 206, 207.

had the title of *Brenbin Prydain Oll*, or the king of all Britain.¹ This occasional honour, by a maxim of state, was originally confined to one Imperial line; and in later times was continued through its two branches, the *Cynethian* and *Cornwall* families, until it finally closed in the person of Cadwalader, the last king of the ancient Britons.² As unlimited authority was vested in the supreme sovereign, it is probable, that the Britons did not suffer such a power to continue beyond the season of necessity and danger.

About fifty
years before
the Christian
Era.

THE love of glory, like every other passion, is heightened by indulgence, and becomes insatiate in proportion to the extent and variety of conquests. Under the impulse of this spirit, Julius Cæsar invaded Britain. The season of the year not allowing him to extend his conquests, he concluded a peace with the natives; and, having taken hostages for its observance, he suddenly embarked in the night for Gaul.³ The spring following he returned with a considerable reinforcement. On this occasion, Cassivellaunus * was vested with the supreme command of the war, by a general assembly of the British States. Having received considerable losses, his territories having been laid waste, and especially being alarmed at the revolt of the auxiliary Britons, he was soon after obliged to sue for peace.⁴ Before that time

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 171.

² *ibid.* p. 171.

³ Cæsar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. IV. p. 145, 154.

* *Casswallon.*

⁴ Cæsar, *ibid.* lib. V. p. 176.

Cæsar had marched into the country as far as the Thames,¹ and having forded that river near Windsor, he stormed Verulamium,² the principal town in the territory of Cassivellaunus. After this expedition, being afraid of commotions in Gaul, he received the submission of the Britons; and taking with him hostages for the security of the peace, he returned to the continent.³

THE death of Cæsar, with the succeeding troubles in the Empire, allowed the Britons to enjoy, some years, a season of tranquillity; and which was continued through the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, produced by the rational policy of restricting the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

THE great preparations which Caligula made for the invasion of Britain, ended in a vain parade upon the ocean, and in offering insult to the dignity of a Roman Senate.⁴

A. D.
40.

IN the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the Romans gained a permanent footing in the Island, owing to the divisions, which

¹ Tafwyfc or Tame Water.

² VEROLANUM takes its name from the river VVer, called in British Gwernlan, Caer Municipium by the Romans, and Verlamcester by the Saxons, by whom it was destroyed. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

³ Cæsar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. V. p. 161, 164, 165, 175, 176.

⁴ Dion Cassius, Leunclavii edit. lib. LIX. p. 659. Instead of invading Britain, Caligula employed his soldiers in gathering cockle-shells into their helmets, from the sea-shore, as the spoils of the enemy; and sent letters to the Roman Senate, demanding a triumph, as if he had obtained a victory over the enemy.

had

had ever subsisted among the Britons. The Belgic inhabitants, who were engaged in commerce, and who resided in the towns of the Isle of Wight,¹ and in those which lay upon the western coast, were with some difficulty subdued by Vespasian.² The native Britons, more independent and brave from their different habits of life, continued their resistance against Plautius and

A. D.
43.

Ostorius Scapula, who successively commanded the Roman armies. On the arrival of Plautius in his government, he defeated the Britons in several actions; but finding that his victories proved indecisive, and seeing them prepared for further resistance, he desired that the Emperor would take in person the command of the forces.³ When Claudius joined the army, which lay encamp-

A. D.
44.

ed upon the banks of the Thames, he found the passage of that river disputed. The Britons, however, were at length obliged to give way, and he advanced into the country of the Trinobantes,* and took the strong fortress of Camulodunum,† which had been the residence of the British king Cunobeline.‡ These fortunate events were immediately followed by the submission, or the conquest, of other nations.

WHEN the affairs of the Provinces were settled, the Emperor returned to Rome, leaving the newly subdued states, and the

¹ CALLED Wight by the Saxons, but Gwydd by the Britons, signifying, a conspicuous place. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 17.

² Suetonius, Oxford edit. book VIII. p. 240.

³ Dion Cassius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

* *Tre'n-ebantwys.*

† *Camaled-ddin* and *Camddin.*

‡ *Cynfelyn.*

further

further conquest of Britain, to the direction of Plautius. The name of Britannicus which Claudius assumed, on his return into Italy, and the splendour of his triumph, mark the formidable idea, which had been conceived of the British arms, by the Roman people.¹

DURING the remainder of the government of Plautius, no considerable advances were made in the conquest of the country; and he soon after returned to Rome, and was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula.

THIS general found the affairs of his province in the greatest confusion. The winter had already commenced: the Iceni,* the Brigantes,† and other nations, thinking they had little to dread from a new general who was unknown to the army, revolted and had recourse to arms. After several bloody encounters, these nations were reduced to obedience, and Ostorius carried his arms into many parts of Britain, which had been hitherto unknown. A. D. 50.

IN this expedition he forced his way through the Cangi,² who opposed him, in whom the principal strength of each nation

¹ Dion Cassius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

* *Urbeyniaid*, Upper settlers. † *Brigynswys*, First-comers.

² *Goeangiaid*. Each nation or tribe had numbers of stout young men, called Cangi, whose business was to protect the cattle, and remove them from one pasture to another.

Baxter's Glossary, p. 73.

consisted; and, continuing his march, he penetrated as far as the coast which lies upon the Irish sea.'

IN the course of this war, the fate of Britain depended upon the virtues and military talents of Caractacus.* This prince was sovereign of the territory inhabited by the Ordovices[†] and the Silures,[‡] and was the son of the late king Cunobeline.[§] Having with infinite resources, and with variety of fortunes, opposed, nine years,[¶] the Roman arms, he was at length obliged to retire among the Silures. And this brave people, whom neither mildness nor severity had subdued, eagerly ranged under his conduct. In order to preserve their territories from being made the seat of war, Caractacus marched into the country of the Ordovices, where he stationed his army in a situation, chosen with great military skill.[‡] At this place, he was opposed by Ostorius with the legionary troops. The few moments which preceded this important action, were employed by Caractacus in animating his soldiers. But their valour was unequally opposed to the force of discipline; and the British camp was stormed with great

* Taciti Annales, Antwerp edit. lib. XII. p. 195, 196.

* *Caradog*. ‡ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 32, 33.

† *Arddysfeich*, the inhabitants who had settled beyond or north of the Dyff.

Lewis Morris.

‡ *Iſekuyr*, Lowlanders, being the inhabitants of the lower part of Wales, between the Severn and Wye. L. Morris.

§ Baxter's Glossary, p. 67.

¶ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 32.

‡ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 33, 34, called *Caer Caradog*, an eminence situated between the rivers Clue and Clevidia in Shropshire.

slaughter,

A MAP of
WALES,
according to
 the MODERN DIVISIONS of
COUNTIES
 By Will^m Owen.

I R I S H I R E



Scale of Br

G L O C E S T E R

I R E

SEVERN RIVER

S H I R E

B R.

S O M E R S E T
 S H I R E

Bristol

East Longitude

T. Conder Sculp^t

slaughter, though not without considerable resistance. In this battle, the wife and daughter of the British king were taken prisoners; and his brothers, soon after, surrendered themselves, Caractacus himself survived this misfortune, to experience a more cruel destiny. After his defeat, retiring to the country of the Brigantes, Cartismandua, the queen of that territory, with a view of gaining the friendship of the Romans, or afraid of their resentment, betrayed him into the hands of Ostorius; and he was sent to Rome as a prisoner of the utmost importance. A general curiosity was excited in Italy, to behold the figure of this extraordinary man, whose superior talents and virtue had been so long, and so ably employed in opposing the Roman power.¹ The magnanimity of this prince, when he was exhibited a public spectacle at Rome, has been a frequent subject of encomium.*

A. D.
52.

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 196, 197.

* THE speech of Caractacus to the Emperor Claudius. Tacit. Annal. lib. XII.
 " If the moderation of my mind in prosperity had been answerable to my quality
 " and fortune, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city; and
 " you without dishonour might have entered into league with me, royally descended,
 " and then at the head of many nations. As my state at present is disgraceful; so
 " yours is honourable and glorious. I had horses, men, arms and riches; why then
 " is it strange I should be loath to part with them? But since your power and
 " empire must be universal, we of course among all others must be subject. If I
 " had immediately yielded, neither my fortune nor your glory had been so eminent
 " in the world. My grave would have buried the memory of it as well as me:
 " whereas if you suffer me to live now, your clemency will live in me for ever, as
 " an example to after ages."

THE habits of war and of conquest, with the cruel nature of their popular amusements, had introduced into the character of the Romans a degree of ferocity, inconsistent with just ideas of heroism; and which, too frequently, steeled them against the impressions of pity, and led them to disdain, as unmanly weakness, the finer feelings of humanity.

A. D. 53. THIS defeat of the Silures was soon revenged, by several victories which they gained over the Roman forces; and in this situation Ostorius died, worn out with anxiety and fatigue.¹

A. D. 57. AFTER his death, the Emperor sent Aulus Didius into Britain: but the age of that general prevented any extraordinary exertions against the enemy;² and he was succeeded by Verannius, who, dying a little time after he had taken the command, left the Roman concerns in the greatest confusion.³

A. D. 58. IN this state of affairs, Suetonius Paulinus was sent to command the Roman forces in Britain. His first undertaking was to subdue the Ordovices, who inhabited that part of the island which is now called North Wales; and he secured the conquests he had made, by settling garrisons in the country. Suetonius was the first Roman, who penetrated as far as Mona.⁴ Being opposed by the Druids* on his entrance into the island, and

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 198. ² Ibid. p. 198. ³ Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 250.

⁴ Taciti Vita Agricolaë, Op. p. 457.

* *Derwyddon*, or *Drywidion*.

influenced

influenced also by national and religious animosity, he massacred many of those people, cut down their groves, laid level their altars, and destroyed the seminary of that ancient ORDER.¹ After this event, the Druids are said to have retired into Ireland, to the Isle of Man,* and into the Orkneys and Hebrides.² In a subsequent period being driven out of these retreats, by christian zeal, they are likewise said to have sought an asylum in Norway, Iceland, and other regions of the north:³ at length, the Druidical system was universally abolished, after it had long established a boundless tyranny upon the ruins of human reason.

It was an uniform principle, in the policy of the Roman state, to exercise a mild dominion over the nations they had conquered, but this was changed to a system of severity, when the subdued provinces, from a sense of injury or of freedom, revolted from their obedience. The nature of their government was likewise stained, by the rapacity, and by the severe administration of individuals. Thus the Roman yoke, however lightly it might be borne by *Asiatics*, who were tamed to submission by hereditary slavery, was an oppressive burden to the Britons, bred in the ideas and in the habits of a wild independency. At this juncture, their native spirit, impatient of restraint and resentful of injury, was urged into fury by a train of evils, which acted equally upon their feelings, as on their national pride and superstition.

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 151. Rowland, p. 100. * *Manaw.*

² Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 101, 107. ³ Rowland, p. 110.

An imposition of taxes upon their lands and cattle, the arbitrary violation of property, with the frequent indignities offered to their women, were causes which kept alive a sense of resentment.¹ They were likewise affected by the treatment of Boadicea, a powerful sovereign of the Iceni. This princess had just become a widow, and was left to the protection of the Roman state; her husband also, by his testament, had made the Emperor Claudius coheir with his daughters, in hopes that it might render him indulgent to his family. But that prince was no sooner dead, than his treasures were seized, and his territories desolated;² the foulness of the procedure being coloured by the indecent pretence, that the Roman law permitted only citizens to bequeath their property.³ The remonstrance of the queen against these injuries, produced no other effect than to accumulate indignities upon her family; the chastity of her daughters was violated, and her own person dishonoured, by being publicly scourged.⁴

A. D.
60.

THESE evils, however enormous, were only partial, and they did not extend to every part of the island. But the late destruction of the Druids, it is probable, gave a general shock to the feelings of the Britons; and with the fury of enthusiasts, they rushed to the standard of Boadicea. The first impression of this multitude was astonishingly great: like the sea overflowing its

¹ Galgacus's Speech, Taciti vit. Agric. Op. p. 462.

² Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.

³ Heineccius Element. Jur. lib. II. Tit. XII. ⁴ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.

bounds,

bounds, they carried with them irresistible force, and desolated the country. The two cities, Camulodunum and Verulamium, first experienced their fury,¹ the inhabitants of which colonies were slaughtered without any distinction of rank or sex, and under circumstances of uncommon barbarity:² almost an entire legion were cut in pieces, coming to the assistance of their countrymen; and eighty thousand persons, either Roman citizens or allies, are said to have perished in the general carnage.³ It is to be lamented, that in attempting to recover the freedom of her country, so much cruelty should have stained the character of this princess; but some extenuation may be found in the nature of her own wrongs, in the injuries which her subjects had suffered, and in the fierceness of uncultivated life.

SUETONIUS, at this time, was engaged in the conquest of Mona. A. D. 60.
Hearing of the revolt, he marched with confidence, through an irritated country, to London,⁴ a place of extent, and of great commercial importance.⁵ Finding himself unable to keep possession of the town, he was obliged to take the field with a few cohorts of auxiliaries, with a single legion, and the *Vexillarii*.⁶

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251, 252.

² Dion Cassius, lib. LXII. p. 700.

³ Dion Cassius, lib. LXII. p. 704.

⁴ THIS city was originally called *Troeswydd*, or New Troy: afterwards *Dinas Beli*, from having been the residence of Belus; then it was called *Caer Ludd*, from king Lud; but its general appellation was *Llundain*.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 20.

⁶ VARIOUS are the opinions respecting the *Vexillarii*, the most probable is, that they were light armed troops belonging to each legion.

of another, and to leave the women, the aged, and the infirm, to the fury of the enemy.¹ With this army, consisting only of ten thousand men, Suetonius opposed Boadicea, at the head of two hundred and thirty thousand Britons.² On this decisive day, that princess appeared in a chariot, with her daughters by her side; and, in a military dress, rode through the ranks, to animate the soldiers.³ Besides this, the Britons had another incitement to victory, as they were to fight for the safety of their families, and in the presence of their wives, all of whom, agreeably to the custom of their country, were ranged in waggons upon the rear of the army.⁴ But valour alone, unsupported by discipline, was not able to make any impression on the firmness of veteran troops; and after a long and obstinate resistance, the British army was entirely defeated. Near eighty thousand of the Britons fell in this day's action, or in the pursuit. Boadicea, unwilling to survive the ruin of her country, suddenly disappeared, having put an end to her own life, as is imagined, by poison.⁵ It is astonishing, that after the severe defeats which the Britons had received, they should be able to keep their national strength unbroken, and their spirit unsubdued.

A. D.
62.

THE danger and difficulty of the war were so great, that Nero was inclined to relinquish the conquest of Britain. Being informed that the rough demeanour of Suetonius might be some

¹ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. ² Dion Cassius, lib. LXII. p. 704. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. ⁵ Ibid. p. 253.

obstacle

obstacle to a peace, he recalled him into Italy; and he placed several officers successively in command, whose inactivity or milder temper gave time for resentments to subside.¹

THESE generals were succeeded by others, of more active and martial dispositions. Petilius Cerealis subdued a great part of the Brigantes, who inhabited the northern districts of England; and Julius Frontinus, conquered from the Silures, the forest of * Dean,² and the present counties of Hereford, and Monmouth.³

A. D.
75.

DURING the time that the Roman interest thus fluctuated in Britain, the inhabitants were exposed to every injury and insult, which might be expected from the rapacity of luxurious governors, and the will of a licentious soldiery. To remedy these evils, to give stability to conquest, and to introduce peace and order, with the mild habits of social life, required the virtues, and the well tempered policy of Julius Agricola.

THIS Roman was sent by Vespasian to command the forces in Britain, where he had already acquired a considerable reputation by his military services. On his arrival, he found the Ordovices revolted, who had begun their hostilities, by cutting off a squadron of horse, stationed upon the frontiers. It was late in the summer when he opened the campaign, supported only by

A. D.
78.

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. XIV. p. 253.

² In British, *Cantref Coch*. ³ So called from the Danes, Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75-

³ Tacit. in vit. Agric. Op. p. 458.

A. D. 78. the *Vexillarii* of the legions, and a body of auxiliary troops. On his approach, the Ordovices, not daring to face him in the field, retired to the mountains; into which difficult places, they were immediately pursued, and the country laid waste with great slaughter of the inhabitants. This success induced Agricola to attempt the second conquest of Mona. The chiefs of the Ordovices had retired into that island, in which they thought themselves perfectly secure, the Romans not having any ships upon the coast, and regarding the straits of *Menai* as impassable: but the auxiliaries of the army, by order of Agricola, having crossed that arm of the sea on horseback, the Britons were so astonished at a spectacle to them altogether new, that they immediately laid down their arms.'

WHEN Agricola had finished the conquest of Mona, he directed his views to the milder designs of peace and reformation. Well instructed in the art of governing, he was more desirous of preventing the causes of discontents than of punishing their effects: and equally tempering lenity with rigour, he abolished that system of tyranny which had so frequently driven the Britons to revolt, and had fixed in their breasts the most fatal resentments.* To these examples of justice and humanity, he added others of an extensive and liberal policy. With the most engaging manners and address, he drew many of the Britons out of their deserts into social communities; and persuaded them to change their rude habits, and precarious subsistence, for the

* Taciti vita Agricola, Op. p. 458.

* Ibid.

arts of peace, and the comforts of civilized life.¹ The Roman people, from a singular policy, were used to extend with their conquests the sciences and the arts; were accustomed to soften the ferocity of war, and to disarm it in some measure of its evils, by introducing their milder manners, with the refinements and elegancies of life; with a view, no doubt, to polish, to enervate, and to enslave mankind.

IN attentions like these to civilize the Britons, and to alleviate their sufferings, Agricola employed the winters which he passed in the island; and in the course of seven summer campaigns, he extended his conquests into Caledonia. He likewise erected two different lines of fortifications; one of which was formed near the river Tay,² and the other along that narrow isthmus which lies between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde.³ But Domitian, who hated virtues which he would not emulate, and sickened at the glory he could not attain, recalled Agricola to Rome; and this great man soon after died of a lingering disorder, with the suspicion of having been poisoned at the instigation of that tyrant.⁴ A. D.
85.

TACITUS, by a few strokes of his inimitable pencil, has given the portrait of this amiable Roman.

¹ Taciti vita Agricola, Op. p. 459.

² Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 101, 102. Camden, Holland's translation, p. 789.

³ Langhorni. Ant. Albion, p. 112, 113.

⁴ Taciti vit. Agricola. Op. p. 459, 465, 466.

A. D. 98. DURING the latter part of the life of Domitian, and in the short reign of Nerva, the Roman interest was neglected in Britain.

MORE important objects, on the eastern frontier of the empire, employed the martial genius of Trajan.

A. D. 120. THE wise policy of limiting, and of preserving its boundaries, was the leading principle in the government of Adrian. In the course of his reign, however, he came into Britain; and the more effectually to secure, he narrowed the bounds of the Roman conquests; ordering the more northern forts to be deserted which had been raised by Agricola, and placing their garrisons on the line of fortifications, which he then formed from the Tyne to Solway Frith.*

A. D. 138. To preserve dominion by the influence of a just and mild administration, was well suited to the philosophic spirit, and benevolent temper of the two Antonines. But a commotion having arisen in Caledonia in the reign of Antoninus Pius, he sent Lollius Urbicus into Britain; who, after he had suppressed the insurrection, confined the Picts to their former boundary.*

A. D. 183. THE dissolute reign of Commodus having had an influence on the discipline of the legions, the Caledonians broke over the wall of Adrian, and cut in pieces a Roman general with his

* Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 103. Spart. vit. Adriani in Script. August. p. 6.

* Julius Capitolinus in vit. Antonini Pii in Scriptoribus August. hist. p. 19.

army; but the insurgents were soon after driven back with great slaughter, and continued quiet during the remainder of that reign.¹ A. D. 185.

THE precarious situation of Pertinax and of Didius Julianus, who in succession possessed the empire, giving them no leisure to attend to the affairs of Britain, the natives of that island enjoyed a season of tranquillity; in which state they remained to the latter end of the reign of Severus. A. D. 192.

UNDER pretence of restraining the irruptions of the northern Britons, but probably to withdraw his sons from the pleasures of Rome, Severus came into the island; and though advanced in years, and so broken with infirmities as to be carried in a litter, he proceeded through forests and morasses to the farthest parts of Caledonia.² After having surmounted the difficulties of the march, and many fierce encounters with the Picts, and not being able, himself, to finish the war, on account of his increasing infirmities, he left one of his sons to conclude a peace with that people; and on his return rebuilt with stone, and more strongly fortified the rampart of Adrian. Soon after Severus had finished this imperial work, he died in the city of York.³ A. D. 207.
A. D. 208.
A. D. 212.

FROM the death of this Emperor to the reign of Dioclesian, few incidents occur in the history of Britain; the Romans having A. D. 284.

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. LXXII. p. 821.

² Herodian, lib. III. p. 133, 135, 137.

³ Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Joannis Rossi, Antq. Warwic. Hist. Reg. Angl. p. 49. Orosius, lib. VII. cap. XVII. p. 502. Hist. August. Script. Spartan, p. 71.

- been too much employed by convulsions in their own empire, to attend to the distant provinces. In the course of this reign Carausius,¹ and afterwards Allectus,* assumed an independent sovereignty in Britain.² But when Constantius was elevated to the rank of Cæsar, in that singular system of government formed by Dioclesian, he reduced the island to its former state of a province of the empire.³ This prince died in the city of York,⁴ soon after he had succeeded to the purple as emperor of the west; and during the greatest part of his reign, he kept the Britons in quiet, by the influence of his mild virtues.⁵ The more decisive qualities of Constantine the Great continued to enforce their obedience.
- A. D. 298.
- A. D. 307.
- A. D. 337.

At this period a storm began to gather in the north, which gradually acquiring greater force and a deeper gloom, at length overspread the British hemisphere.

As the dread of the Roman power declined with the retreat of the legions, several nations, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, made incursions into Britain. The Picts were natives of the island, and inhabited the country near to the wall of Antonine, upon the eastern, and western coast, and on the mountains of

¹ *Cæron*. Flores Historiarum, p. 91, 84.

* *Allectus*.

² Flores Hist. p. 91, 84.

³ J. Roffi, Ant. War. p. 50.

⁴ Called Eboracum by the Romans, Caer Efrog by the Britons, and Euerwyke by the Saxons. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 30.

⁵ Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Flores Historiarum, p. 92, 96, by Math. Westminster.

Caledonia.¹ The Scots were a recent colony from Ireland, and had settled by invitation of the Picts, upon the western shore of Scotland very early in the fourth century.² The Saxons, one of the most warlike nations in Germany, had emigrated from the northern parts of that country, and had settled along the sea coast from Jutland to the mouth of the Rhine.³

THE history of this period is barren of important incidents, and exhibits very little agreeable information; we scarcely meet with any thing, but pictures of rude life and manners, or melancholy details of war and devastation.

WITH a policy peculiar to the Romans, they had permitted the kingly office in the full extent of its ancient authority, to remain in many of the provinces of Britain.⁴ In the course of this period, two princely families had arisen into pre-eminence, above the rest of the British Reguli; appearing in their ancient lustre on the decline of the Roman power, and attaining to that royal distinction which had formerly belonged to their ancestors.⁵ These were the princes of the Cynethian and Cornwall families.⁶ The former were sovereigns of the territory belonging to the Strath-Clyde* Britons, and of the principality of North Wales;†

¹ Whitaker, *ibid.* edit. vol. II. p. 209.

² Whitaker's *Hist. Manchester*, vol. II. p. 248, 249, 250.

³ Verstegan, chap. III. p. 20, 55, 56, 82, 84.

⁴ *Hist. Manchester*, vol. I. 2d edit. p. 331. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 115.

⁵ Rowland's *Mon. Ant.* p. 145, 171.

⁶ Rowland, p. 171.

* *Ystrad Clwyd.*

† *Gwynedd.*

and

and were descended from Coel, a northern prince; who, by his marriage with the heiress of North Wales, became the sovereign of that principality.¹ The daughter of this prince succeeded to his dominions, and was called Helena, and was afterwards married to the Emperor Constantius;² who, having gained by that union a natural right to the crown, the Roman government became for a time very popular. In after times, the line of the princess Helena becoming extinct in Britain, the succession of the Strath-Clyde kingdom, with the principality of North Wales, devolved upon Cynetha³ her nephew.⁴ The sons of this prince, leaving their northern territories to the government of the eldest branch of their own family, retired to their dominions in North Wales; where their descendants supported the cause of freedom and of nature, until the royal British blood became extinct as to sovereignty, in the person of David the last prince of Wales.⁵

THE Cornwall family were derived from Bran-ap-Llyr, a duke of that province; who was afterwards chosen the king of Britain.⁶ Out of this princely family descended the illustrious names of Aurelius Ambrosius, Uthur Pendragon, Arthur and Constantine; a line of heroes, who successively, but with different fortunes, opposed the Saxon arms.⁶

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 145, 163.

² Ran. Higden, lib. XIV. p. 219. Flores Historiarum, p. 92. Rowland, p. 161, 162, 163, 166

³ *Cynedda Wledig*, or the Illustrious.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90.

⁵ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146, 162.

⁶ Ibid. 145, 146, 170.

⁷ Ibid.

THE naval force of the kingdom in the preceding period, during the reigns of Constantius and his son Constantine, had been the object of policy and of regular attention; by which means the coasts had in general been secured from invasion; but as the Roman interest declined, the navy was suffered to decay; the Britons having paid no attention to this great object of national security.

AT this period the Picts, acting in conjunction with the Scots, and the Saxons, invaded the Roman territories in Britain. The distraction and misery caused by this invasion were astonishingly great: for not confining their ravages to the sea coasts, as had hitherto been their custom, they spread wide their depredations through the interior parts of the country. They were instantly opposed by the Count of the Saxon shores; but after that officer had done all in his power to withstand their fury, he bravely fell, where he could not conquer. The next person that opposed them was the general of the Roman forces; who, having collected such a power as the urgency of the time would allow, marched against the enemy; but being drawn into an ambuscade, this general, likewise, experienced the same fate. These circumstances creating alarm, the emperor Valentinian sent Theodosius into Britain; and this officer, uniting military talents with great policy and address, soon put an end to the war, and reinstated the provinces in their former tranquillity.* On the return of Theo-

A. D.
364.

A. D.
367.

* Flores Historiarum, p. 91. Selden Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. VI. 7. Campbell's Naval Hist. Brit. vol. I. p. 26.

* Langhorni. Ant. Albion, p. 224.

dosius

dofius to Rome, he was attended to the sea shore by the acclamations of a grateful people.¹

A. D. 383. THIS tranquil state of their affairs was soon interrupted by the ambition of a popular individual. For the Britons, engaging in the cause of Maximus* on his usurpation of the empire, rekindled the flames of war, and hastened their own ruin. This person had served a long time in Britain with great military reputation;² but the cause which of all others had been the means of riveting him in the affections of the natives, and of more closely uniting his interests with their own, was his marriage with Helena,³ the daughter of Euda duke of Cornwall,⁴ and who was afterwards elected to the sovereign dignity.⁵ In consequence of which, Maximus⁶ drew to his standard the flower of the British youth; who along with the legionary soldiers were transported into Gaul.⁷ His endeavours were at first crowned with success, by an advantage he obtained over Gratian, one of the Roman emperors,⁸ and by the expulsion of Valentinian the other emperor out of Italy; but his army was afterwards routed by Theodosius, and he himself, with his son Flavius, put to death,

A. D. 388.

¹ Appendix Post Bædam, p. 671. Ammianus Marcellin. lib. XXVIII. p. 525.

* *Maxen Wledig.* ² Zosimus, lib. IV. p. 248. ³ Born at Segontium.

⁴ Cornwall, called Cerniw by the Britons; by the Saxons Cornwall, or the Welsh of Cornavia. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 18.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 166, 169. Flores Historiarum, p. 105.

⁶ Zosimus, lib. IV. p. 248. ⁷ Flores Historiarum, p. 106.

⁸ Zosimus, p. 248. Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p. 25.

after

after having been, five years, in possession of the imperial dignity.¹ These princes fell victims to their ambition; and with them fell likewise the hopes, and splendid views of the Britons. The remains of this unfortunate army, for want of the means, it is probable, of returning into their own country, settled in Armorica.*²

A. D.
388.

A SEASON of weakness and misery ensued; but it was not every part of Britain which had been involved in the general calamity. On the dissolution of the Roman power, the British governments had reverted to those Reguli who were descended from the ancient sovereigns. The most eminent of these princes, at this period, was Einion Urdd, the son of Cynetha; who resided, like his father, in his northern territories.³ This prince united in his government the kingdom of the Strath-Clyde Britons, the province of North Wales, and, it is probable, likewise, those parts of Cheshire and Lancashire lying upon the Irish channel.⁴ The union of these dominions, under a vigorous administration, formed a force sufficiently powerful to repel the invaders; and to keep his own kingdom in general security, as long as it continued unbroken by the custom of Gavel-kind. In the course of this reign, however, the Irish Scots, under the command of Sirigi,⁵ landed on Mona; and having defeated the

A. D.
389.

¹ Zosimus, p. 266, 267.

* *Llydaw*, or along the water. ² Girald. Cambrensis, lib. V. p. 41. The name is derived in the British from Ar-morica, or upon the sea. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 10.

³ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183.

⁴ Ibid. p. 146.

⁵ Or the Rover.

natives, took possession of that island.¹ On this invasion, Einion Urdd sent his eldest son *Cafwallon*^{**} to the relief of Mona;³ who soon executed his orders, by routing the enemy at Holyhead, where their fleet was deposited, and slaying Sirigi in a personal encounter.⁴

DURING the reign of Theodosius, his just and vigorous administration preserved in general the public tranquillity. But on the death of that prince, and in the minority of Honorius, a more general and formidable invasion took place. The Picts, the Irish Scots, and the Saxons united their powers, and infested the southern coasts of Britain; they divided into different parties, and spread, with infinite fury, over the interior parts of the kingdom. This invasion, however, was soon checked, and the peace of the island established, under the conduct of Victorinus; an officer who had been sent into Britain by Stilico, and who had, himself, directed, in the minority of his master, the concerns of the Roman empire.⁵ Among other marks of his attentions to the true interest of the island, he repaired the navy, which for some years preserved the coasts from being invaded.⁶

A CALM interval having succeeded this stormy season, an event occurred the most important and decisive; and which gave so

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146. ^{**} *Cafwallon-law-bir*, or the long-handed.

³ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183.

⁴ Ibid. p. 146.

⁵ Claudian de laud. Stilicon. cap. XI. Langhorni. Ant. Alb. p. 237.

⁶ Secund. Paneg. de laud. Stilic. p. 516.

rude a shock to the center of the Roman state, as to convulse the most distant parts of that wide and extensive empire. This was the invasion of Italy by *Alaric the Goth*. To sustain the central parts, the legionary troops in the provinces were recalled; and of course the greatest part of those which had been stationed in Britain were withdrawn into Italy.¹

A. D.
403.

In despair of receiving assistance from Rome, the Britons themselves elected several sovereigns, to take the direction of affairs in such a perilous season.² The last of these princes, named Constantine, was raised to that dignity on account of the popularity of his name; and though of mean rank, being no more than a common soldier, he was a person of spirit and of enterprize, and possessed a genius above his condition.³

A. D.
408.

ELATED with his early prosperity, Constantine extended his views to the continent; and in order to support his claim to the empire, and to take advantage of the present favourable juncture, he passed over into Gaul with an army.⁴ Honorius, being obliged to give way to the present emergency, agreed to receive him as his associate in the empire;⁵ but that prince having concluded a peace with the Goths, opposed the pretensions of Constantine, and finally took him prisoner, and put him to death.⁶ The re-

A. D.
409.

¹ Claudian de bello Getico, p. 593.

² Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 92. Zosimus, p. 371.

³ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 50.

⁴ Ibid. p. 50. Zosimus, p. 371.

⁵ Zosimus, p. 359.

⁶ Polidore Virgil, p. 350.

A. D. 410. The remainder of the Britons, who had followed the fortunes of the usurper, settled in Armorica, which at this time was erected into a kingdom, independent of Rome.¹

A. D. 410. The Britons, still more exposed than ever to invasions, applied to Honorius for assistance; but that emperor, himself sorely pressed by Alaric the Goth, left them to the management of their own affairs, and renounced the sovereignty of the island.²

A. D. 423. A short gleam of prosperity rising upon the Romans, in the reign of Valentinian the third, a legion was sent into Britain by Ætius, who commanded in Gaul; with no view of making any permanent settlement, but only in pity to the immediate distresses of that country. When this legion had performed the necessary service, it was recalled into Italy.³ Before their departure, the Romans fortified the wall of Severus, and erected towers for observation upon the sea coasts; they exhorted the Britons to inure themselves to war; and assured them, that on their own virtue and manly exertions, their future safety must depend.⁴

At this period, when the Romans bade a final adieu to Britain, the country lay exposed to the inroads of numerous enemies; after its native strength had been exhausted in support of foreign wars, its numbers farther wasted by famine and pesti-

¹ Zosimus, lib. VI. p. 376.

² Ibid. 376, 381.

³ Ibid. 376.

⁴ Bede's Ecclesiastical Hist. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Gildas, p. 5. Gale's Script.

lence,¹ and its navy, that natural bulwark of its safety, had fallen into decay:² and, under all these external disadvantages, the people, too, were in want of that union so necessary in times of emergency; and the British princes themselves, instead of uniting to oppose the common danger, by concerted plans of operation, were only anxious to secure their separate interests.³

¹ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 115, 116. Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Gildas, p. 7.

² Berkeley's Naval Hist. Britain, p. 43.

³ Bede's Ecclesiastical Hist. lib. I. cap. XII.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY FROM THE FINAL RETREAT OF THE ROMANS, TO THAT PERIOD WHEN THE ANCIENT BRITONS WERE DRIVEN INTO WALES, CORNWALL, AND ARMORICA.

A. D. 430. IN a state of weakness and confusion the Britons recovered their liberty, after having, in some degree, been dependent on the Roman empire four hundred and eighty years, from the first invasion under Julius Cæsar.¹ But they were no longer that rough, brave, or virtuous people which the Romans found them ; they might be polished, it is true, by the Roman arts, but these had left them without valour or public spirit, enervated, indolent, and dejected. They in general were elated at the *idea* of being free ; but their minds were too much debased, to form just conceptions of freedom, or to enjoy for the present, or render permanent, the full benefit of its invaluable fruits.

¹ Selden Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

AMIDST the confusion natural in such a situation, it is said, that the Britons were struck with a sense of their true interests ; and that they determined to establish a powerful navy, as the most solid means of securing the public tranquillity. This salutary measure, though undertaken at first with alacrity, was never carried into execution : the design, it is probable, might in some measure fail, through the natural levity of a people, unacquainted with business, averse to labour, and unaccustomed to great attempts.*

THE sudden attack made by the Picts on the wall of Severus, allowed them, it is true, but little leisure to engage in naval designs. And those Britons, who defended the forts upon the wall, unacquainted with this kind of war, and not possessing the cool intrepidity necessary in such a situation, abandoned their stations, and, forsaking that part of the country, retreated to the south. Instead of the spoils, which had hitherto been the object of their inroads, the Picts determined to settle upon the territories which had been lately abandoned:† but this dangerous design was suspended, for the present, by a peace concluded with the Britons ; that wretched people having purchased a temporary quiet, for a considerable sum of money. By this treaty, the wall of Severus was to be the boundary between the two nations. The peace was however of no long duration, for the means which were employed to procure it, were naturally the cause of its infraction ;‡

* Berkeley's Naval Hist. Britain, p. 43, 44.

† Bede's Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. ‡ Rapin, vol. I. p. 24, 25.

and

and a war ensued more destructive in its consequence, than any in which the Britons had been engaged. In one battle alone they sustained the loss of fourteen thousand men; an irreparable injury in their weak situation. Reduced to extremity, they solicited peace of their conquerors,¹ and obtained one indeed, but upon very mortifying terms; for by the new treaty they were obliged to yield up the country which lies to the north of the Humber, and on which territory the Picts immediately made settlements.²

A. D.
438.

THE Britons being thus despoiled of a great part of their territories, and sensible that every resistance of their own was vain, applied to the king of Armorica for assistance; who sent his brother Constantine, with a body of troops, into the island.³ That prince having defeated the enemy, was promoted, in a public council, to the British throne.⁴ But this supply only afforded the Britons an occasional relief; and still pressed by the increasing power of their enemies, they had recourse for the last time to the Romans, and supplicated aid from Ætius the *Præfekt* of Gaul; who, with great valour, and a transient success, had suspended for some time the destiny of Rome. The British deputies carried to him the following letter of their countrymen, written "in a strain of dishonourable lamentation :

A. D.
443.

¹ Rapin, vol. L. p. 24, 25.

² Ibid.

³ Girald. Cambrensis, lib. VI. p. 43.

⁴ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 171. English translation. Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. West. Flores Hist. p. 212.

“ To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons. We
 “ know not which way to turn us. The *Barbarians* drive us
 “ to the sea, and the sea forces us back to the *Barbarians*; be-
 “ tween which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to
 “ be swallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the sword.”¹

But Ætius, at this time engaged in opposing the formidable Attila, was not in a situation to afford them relief.²

DEJECTED with this repulse, and still harrassed by the inroads of the Picts and Irish Scots, the Britons were at length reduced to despair; deserted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and relinquishing the habits of social life, retreated to the woods and mountains; in which solitary wilds they gained a precarious subsistence by hunting.³ To add another evil to their sufferings, a famine ensued, owing to incessant devastation and the neglect of cultivating their land.⁴ To avoid this complicated misery, numbers of the Britons yielded themselves up to the mercy of their enemies: others more brave, continued to oppose them from the places of their retreat; and the miserable remainder, indulging the last effort of despair, fell to injure and despoil one another.⁵

¹ Bede, lib. I. cap. XIII. p. 51. Gildas, cap. XVII. Girald. Cambrensis, lib. VI. p. 42.

² Bede, *ibid.*

³ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 116.

⁴ Gildas, p. 6.

⁵ Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51.

THE invaders themselves, unacquainted with the arts of agriculture, and perpetually harrassed by the sudden incursions of the Britons, began to feel the pressure of that famine which they had occasioned; and were obliged to relinquish their possessions, and retire into their own country.¹ During this interval of peace, the Britons returned to their habitations, and to their usual employments in husbandry. Favourable seasons having seconded their labours, an astonishing plenty ensued; when, forgetful of their past misfortunes, and improvident for the future, they are said to have fallen into luxury, and into vices of every kind, the most atrocious; a circumstance, which not only marks the manners of the age, but also proves them to be unworthy of that freedom they had lately recovered.²

THERE is a point of depression as well as of exaltation, as has been observed by an acute philosophic spirit,* which in general limits the progress of human affairs; and from which they usually return, either by a slow or a rapid movement, to the opposite extreme. Though reduced to the lowest state of weakness and misery, the Britons, roused by the virtue of succeeding princes, recovered their native spirit; and, rising again into freedom and importance, asserted for many ages the rights of injured humanity.

ABOUT this period, Cafwallon, the prince of Cumbria, made choice of Mona³ for his residence; and being the eldest branch

¹ Gildas, cap. XVII.

² Bede, cap. XVII.

^{*} Mr. Hume.

³ The ruins of his palace were to be seen near Llan Elian in the Rev. Mr. Rowland's time.

of the *Cynethian family*, he had of course a preeminence in dignity; the other Cambrian princes paying him homage and obedience as their superior lord.¹ From this æra we may fix the date of a distinct sovereignty in North Wales.

AMONG the various evils accumulated upon the Britons, we may also add the miseries of religious dissension. It is equally deplorable as it is strange, that the Christian religion, so well adapted to soften and to meliorate the human heart, should, by a fatal perversion, be made the means of destroying the mildness of its spirit, and of injuring its purity; by calling into action the malignant and angry passions, and by confining the natural freedom of the mind, within the narrow limits prescribed to it by prejudice and the pride of opinion. The heresy of the Pelagians had, at this time, spread in the Christian church; and the disputes which it produced were carried on with much animosity and rancour; evils, which have always arisen from the passions whenever they mingle in theological controversy.²

To remedy these evils, and to reduce to one standard religious opinions, the British clergy applied for assistance to a Gallican council; which deputed St. Germain, attended by another bishop of the name of Lupus, upon that mission.³ The former prelate, who was a man of learning and piety, and seems to have possessed

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¹ Rowland, p. 146, 147, 148.

² Matt. Westm. p. 114.

³ Ibid. Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. I. cap. XVII. p. 54. Ran. Higden's Polychron. lib. V. p. 223.

a solid and extensive genius, having for the present given a check to the Pelagian innovations, fixed his residence in Cambria; where, it is probable, that at this early period, many of its inhabitants still remained in ignorance, and had scarcely any knowledge of christianity.*

DURING the conversion of the Britons in Cambria, and while St. Germain was introducing learning with some degree of order into the church, the Saxons joined in confederacy with the Picts, and invaded that part of the country. At this juncture, many Britons were assembled to be instructed by St. Germain in the principles of christianity, and to receive baptism at his hands on the festival of Easter. Supported by this multitude, who were fired with religious enthusiasm, St. Germain calmly waited the approach of the enemy, at a place called *Maes-Garmon*, near Mold in Flintshire; and at the moment, when the Saxons were rushing to the attack, he ordered the Britons to call aloud, three times, *Allelujab*. The sound having increased by the reverberation of the adjacent mountains, threw the Saxons into so great a panic, that they were soon routed.† We easily conceive that a superstitious people, would impute this singular victory to the extraordinary interposition of the Almighty; and that they esteemed their leader, like Gideon, to be armed with celestial power. But the mind, at the present period, not seeing objects through the medium of either superstition or enthusiasm,

* Constantius' Life of St. Germain.

† Bede's Ecclef. Hist, lib. I. cap. XX. p. 57. Langhorni. Ant. Albionenses, p. 259.
will

will conclude this event to have arisen out of natural causes, always under the direction of Divine Providence. The Saxons, it is possible, from the nature of the outcry, might suspect an ambush, or that the number of the Britons was increased: besides, the mind of man, in an uncultivated state, is liable to fears the most sudden, absurd, and contagious. Having thus preserved the public tranquillity from foreign enemies, and by civil and religious regulations having secured in some measure the peace of the country, St. Germain attempted before his departure to establish a naval force; assuring the Britons, that it must be upon their fleets alone they could rationally depend for their future security.¹

CONSTANTINE, the king of Britain, was, at this time, murdered by the treachery of a Pict, while he was engaged in the pleasures of the chase. His son Constans, though a monk, was raised to the throne, through the machinations of Vortigern* his cousin; in hopes of directing the government of a prince, who, having been bred in the recesses of a cloister, was of course uninstructed in the management of public affairs, and in the laws of his kingdom.² There was something bold in the genius of Vortigern. He possessed qualities which usually decide in great and turbulent scenes; but he was led by them into a series of

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¹ Berkeley's Naval Hist. Britain, p. 44.

* *Gwrtbeyrn Gwrtbenan*, lord of *Gwent Erging* and *Ewas* in South Wales. L. Morris.

² Geoff. Monmouth, p. 173. Rowland, p. 169, 184. Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 113.

crimes,

crimes, which have marked his life with misfortune, and his character with infamy.

As soon as Vortigern had taken the reins of government into his hands, he disdained to act a secondary part in its affairs; but, allured by the prospect of the crown, he determined to reach that point of his ambition by the murder of his sovereign.¹ In pursuance of this design, the king's guards, who had been recommended by Vortigern himself, and were instigated by rewards and his artful suggestions, entered the prince's bed chamber; and having cut off his head, carried it bleeding to the regent. Vortigern, however delighted with the spectacle, feigned the utmost astonishment and horror, wept over the ghastly visage, and by a master-stroke of policy, as if affected with honest indignation, commanded the heads of the assassins to be struck off.² The singular address of Vortigern, in the conduct of this affair, might cause the death of Constans, in some degree, to remain enveloped in uncertainty and darkness. It removed however the obstacle to his ambition, and he immediately ascended the throne;³ but whether by his own usurpation, or that he was called to the vacant dignity by the voice of the British states, is a point which remains undecided.

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¹ Jo. Rofs. Ant. Warw. p. 55. Math. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 113.

² Polychronicon, lib. IV. p. 221. in Gale's Scriptores. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 178. Evan's Mirrour of past Ages, in Welsh, p. 95.

³ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

HERE

HERE let us pause a moment over an *epoch* distinguished in the British annals, when the Saxons were invited into Britain to be the guardians of its safety, and point out the probable causes of a measure so delusive, and fatal. The rapid changes of several princes from the sceptre to the grave, had shewn the precarious tenure under which the British sovereigns had held their power. The fear, likewise, of falling a sacrifice to the justice of his country, might be a powerful motive with Vortigern, to unite his cause with the ambitious views of the Saxons; whose number and valour might protect him from danger, and support their mutual interests. Superadded to these motives of a personal nature, the public safety, at this time threatened with an invasion of the Picts and Scots, served Vortigern as a plausible pretext to convene the states of the kingdom, and to propose in that assembly the necessity of such an alliance.¹ Nothing could so strongly mark the fear and distraction, which at this time, influenced the general council, as adopting so hastily a measure, repugnant to every principle of sound policy. The succeeding history of the Saxon wars, replete with human misery, and the ruin of the British empire, the effect of this day's counsels, are melancholy lessons to mankind; that a people, who have not themselves the virtue to defend their country, are not likely by adventitious aid to preserve its freedom.

¹ Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Math. Westm. Flores Historiarum, p. 115. Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit.

A WEAK credulity, and a temper hasty and impetuous, were the leading qualities of the Britons; which frequently excited them to resolutions the most precipitate and ill founded. These defects, which have been ruinous to their liberties in every period of their annals, laid them open to the machinations and interested views of this crafty usurper; and it was an easy matter for Vortigern, by sounding the alarm of danger, to obtain the consent of the British states, that deputies should be immediately dispatched to solicit aid of the Saxons.¹ Some nobler spirits, endued with greater strength of discernment, saw the fatal tendency of the measure, and exerted their utmost efforts to oppose the current of this general infatuation. But the evil genius of Britain prevailed, and deputies were sent to the Saxons, to solicit their assistance against the common enemy, the Picts and the Scots.²

THE various tribes of the Saxons,³ at this period, were governed in the same manner as the Celtic nations. An assembly, composed of twelve of the most eminent chieftains, formed the great council of the nation, and during peace directed the public administration; but in times of war, one person of this body, pre-eminent in valour and other talents for command, was chosen by the common suffrages to take upon him the conduct of the state.⁴ At this period, Hengist and Horsa were

¹ Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55.

² Evan's Mirrour of past Ages, written in Welsh.

³ So called from using military weapons that were in the shape of a *sextle*, and called in their language *seaxes*. Verstegan, chap. I. p. 21, 22.

⁴ Verstegan, chap. III. p. 62.

princes of great distinction. They were the descendants of Woden,¹ the founder of the nation, and regarded by the Saxons as the deity who presided in war,² agreeably to the custom of the early ages, of paying divine honours to any distinguished individual, who had been the instrument of glory or of utility to his country.

WHEN the British deputies appeared before the assembly of the Saxon states, they opened the nature of their commission, and solicited assistance.³ Struck with this favourable opportunity of displaying their valour, and of gratifying their avidity, and probably discerning the consequent advantages, the Saxons agreed to send the Britons immediate aid; and a large body of troops was embarked under the command of Hengist and Horsa.⁴ The former of these warriors, by his valour and abilities, was every way qualified to support the expectations of his country. On the character of Horsa, history is silent; except that, along with his brother, he had served in the Roman armies under Valentinian the third.⁵

WHEN the deputies returned into Britain, and reported the success of their embassy, there was great rejoicing in the court

¹ From Woden is derived Wednesday, being the day dedicated to the honour of that Saxon deity. Friday likewise is derived from the Saxon goddess Fria, being the day dedicated to her worship; and in the same manner, every other day in the week, has taken its derivation from the Saxon deities. See Verstegan, cap. III. p. 69—77. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Sammes's British Ant. 352.

² Ran. Higden Polychron. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 222.

³ Gildas, p. 7.

⁴ Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

⁵ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 118.

A. D. 449. of Vortigern.¹ Soon after their arrival, the Saxon auxiliaries landed at Ebsfleete in the island of Thanet; the place which, by previous agreement, had been allotted for their residence.² Under the influence of those fears which ever agitate guilty minds, it is natural to suppose, that the arrival of his new allies, would be a matter of pleasure and comfort to the British king.³ To shew them greater honour, he repaired in person to meet the Saxons, and waited their landing on the sea shore; he there received them with extraordinary caresses, entertained them with feasts several days; and after he had settled their stipulated pay, to avoid the causes of future discontents, he led them against the Picts and Scots,⁴ who at this time had penetrated as far as Stamford.⁵ That they might give an early impression of their valour, Hengist placed the Saxons in the front, as the station of danger; and the Britons formed the rear of the army. In this situation, they waited the attack of the enemy; who began the assault, as was usually their custom, by a discharge of lances and darts; which made no impression upon the Saxons, who were accustomed to fight in a closer order, with long swords and battle axes. At length, after an engagement obstinately disputed and bloody, the Picts and Scots were entirely defeated.⁶ By this victory the Saxon princes obtained a high reputation for valour and military con-

¹ Evans's *Mirroure*, in Welsh, p. 98.

² *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 117. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. *Saxon Chron.* by Gibson, p. 12.

³ *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 122.

⁴ *Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev.* p. 13. *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 122.

⁵ *Gale's Script.* *Ranulph Higden Polychron.* lib. V. p. 222.

⁶ *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 122. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. *Gale's Script.* *ibid.*

duct.¹ A few subsequent efforts, which were always unprosperous, obliged the Picts and Scots to relinquish their conquests, and to retreat into their own country. If, upon this fortunate turn in their affairs, the Britons had united under a sovereign of ability and virtue, had enforced the immediate departure of the Saxons, at a time when they were few in number, and had also established a naval force; they might have preserved the public tranquillity, and have secured, for a time at least, the national independence.

INSTEAD of these decisive and politic measures, a ruinous and irreparable one ensued. For Hengist, whose penetrating mind had seen into the designs, and critical situation of Vortigern; and who had observed the luxury, the negligence, and effeminacy of the Britons; and had noticed the richness of their country compared with his own; began at this time to extend his views towards a permanent settlement in it. With this design, he invited a fresh body of his countrymen to assist in the enterprize, and to partake in the fruits of the conquests which he meditated.² He likewise represented to the king the necessity of being possessed of some fortified place, as a security for his troops, and as a repository of their spoils; and accordingly desired that he might erect such a fortress. The request of Hengist was at first refused by Vortigern, through fear that it might excite a jealousy

¹ Verstegan, cap. V. p. 122.

² Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122.

among the Britons ; however, at length he accomplished his design, by means of an artifice, which if it be true, marked the exceeding simplicity of the times.'

Latter End
of A. D.
450.

INDUCED by the flattering description which Hengist had given of Britain, a large body of Saxons came over ;² and among these was the daughter of that prince, the beautiful Rowenna.³ The arrival of these troops was seen with a jealous eye by many of the Britons, who were justly alarmed at the consequences of introducing into the country so great a number of foreigners.⁴ But Vortigern, the presiding demon in the fate of Britain, and whose secret machinations, it is probable, had introduced this reinforcement, either despised the remonstrance of his subjects,⁵ or had the address to silence their fears ; and to persuade them of the necessity of such a measure, on the plausible pretext that the first body of Saxons, from their late losses, would be insufficient to protect them from their enemies.⁶

THE intercourse subsisting between Hengist and the British king, had given him the opportunity of observing the constitutional character of that monarch ; and on this basis he hoped

¹ Fabian, p. 71. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 185, Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122. Hengist only desired of Vortigern as much land as the hide of an ox would furround. This request being agreed to, the artful Saxon (it is said) cut the hide into small thongs, with which he encompassed a space of ground sufficient to erect a fort.

² Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52.

³ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Wm. Malmesbury, lib. I. p. 9.

⁴ Matth. Westm. p. 118.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Evans's Mirrour, p. 99.

to form an alliance, which should serve as a cement to their common interests, and should give solidity to his own future designs. Having frequently acknowledged his obligations to Vortigern, he requested the honour of his company to a feast, at the castle he had lately erected; that by every entertainment in his power, he might express his respect and gratitude.¹ Vortigern accepted the invitation to a *supper*, and the carousal was highly magnificent. In the height of their festivity, when the wine had circulated, and the mind was open to no other impression than pleasure; the fair Rowenna appeared in the hall, magnificently dressed, and holding in her hand a golden cup which was full of wine. Having gracefully presented herself upon one knee before the king, she thus addressed him in her own language; “*Waes beal blaford Cyning*, or, Be of health lord king.” Agreeably surprised with the sudden appearance of a beautiful lady kneeling before him, the king demanded of his chamberlain, who was the interpreter, the nature of her suit.² He was informed, that the princess Rowenna accosted him after the manner of her country; where it was usual at carousals, for any one who shall drink to another, to cry *wasbeil*; the person to whom he thus speaks shall answer, *Drynk-beil*; then he who first cried *wasbeil*, drinks, and presents him with the cup. While the interpreter was explaining to Vortigern the nature of this gothic festivity, that prince smiled upon Rowenna, and said to her in:

1. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Wm. Malmsbury, p. 9. Verst. chap. V. p. 126.

2. Jo. Rofs. Ant. Warw. Hist. Reg. Angl. p. 56. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 127.

the Saxon language, "*Drynk beil, or drink the bealth.*"¹ Upon this the princess drank a little out of the cup, and presented it gracefully to the king; who then, agreeably to the custom, gave her a salute. She immediately retired, with the profoundest respect, out of the king's presence.² The uncommon beauty of the Saxon princess, the gracefulness of her manners, and the touching singularity of the action, impressed upon him when he was heated with wine, entirely fascinated the soul of Vortigern; and left no traces of any other impressions in his mind, than those of love and desire. To increase still more this amorous frenzy, many impediments were artfully thrown by Hengist in the way of his passion.³ But the infatuated monarch, inflamed with desire, disregarded every obstacle, which the dictates of honour, prudence, and religion had opposed to his wishes. He removed the chief impediment by divorcing his wife, who had borne him three sons;⁴ and having married the Saxon princess, he invested Hengist with the sovereignty of Kent, violently wresting that territory from its original proprietor; he likewise put him in possession of the three counties of Essex, Suffolk and Middlesex.⁵

THE marriage of Vortigern, so opposite to the ideas of a superstitious age; his late munificence to Hengist, so contrary to

¹ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 127. ² Fabian, p. 72. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 187.

³ William Malmesbury, p. 9.

⁴ Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 127. Warton's English Poetry, from Geoff. Monmouth.

⁵ Verstegan, cap. V. p. 128. William Malmesbury, lib. I. p. 9.

justice,

justice, with his open partiality for the Saxons, had spread in every place indignation and alarm.¹ But while the Britons employed themselves only in complaints and unavailing discontent, the politic Hengist, sensible that guilt had made the king subservient, and of consequence a dupe to his designs; induced him to give his consent for a further reinforcement of Saxons.² And to promote this design, he infused into his mind the danger of his situation, from the revolt of his subjects universally disaffected; and from the probable design of Ambrosius,³ of asserting his right to the crown, and of revenging the murder of his brother Constantine.⁴ In consequence of this, a large body of Saxons arrived under the command of Abisa, the brother of Hengist, and of his son Octa.⁵ These leaders landed in the islands of the Orcades; and having subdued them, and obliged the Picts to evacuate the Northumbrian territory, they settled in the country which had been abandoned.⁶ The Saxons, at first, only occupied the land upon the eastern shore, which lies to the north of the Tyne; they afterwards advanced by slow degrees to the south, and dispossessed the Britons of the country as far as the Humber.⁷

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452.

¹ Matth. West. p. 117. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 59. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 128.

² Fabian, p. 72.

³ *Emrys Wledig*. The son of the British king Constantine, who, after his brother's death, retired into Armorica for protection.

⁴ Matth. West. p. 117.

⁵ W. Malmbury, lib. I. p. 9. Verstegan, cap. V. p. 128. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Nennius, cap. XXXVII. Bertram's edition.

⁶ W. Malmbury, lib. I. p. 9. Nennius, cap. XXXVII.

⁷ Rapin, vol. I. p. 32.

A FRIENDSHIP cemented by principles so interested and base, as those which subsisted in the minds of Hengist and Vortigern, must be of necessity precarious; and was not likely to be of longer duration than the motives which formed the alliance. On the accession of strength which he received by the arrival of so considerable a force, Hengist immediately threw off the mask. He no longer paid any respect to the person of Vortigern, and under the pretence of keeping up the number of his forces, he continually increased them by fresh supplies which were sent him from the continent; without the knowledge, and even without deigning to ask the permission of the king. When the first body of Saxons came into Britain, they had a stipulated pay allowed them;¹ which, it is probable, consisted both of money and provisions; beside the island of Thanet, which was allotted for their residence.² The first condition not having been duly performed,³ or perhaps under that pretext, Hengist at this time demanded the pay or provisions for the whole number of Saxons in his army; and insolently threatened, in case of refusal, that they would do themselves justice by the force of arms. This demand, however oppressive, was instantly complied with, to take from the Saxons every plausible ground of contention. Still rising in their demands from the late concession, their hostile designs appeared without disguise, and were discovered to be of the most dangerous tendency.⁴ In this moment of danger, when

¹ Bede, lib. I. cap. XV.

² Matth. Westm. p. 116.

³ W. Maimsbury, lib. I. p. 9.

⁴ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 128.

⁵ Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 128.

the Britons seemed destitute of every manly and virtuous exertion, they suddenly rose into a degree of wisdom and public spirit, which, for a time, gave a fortunate turn to their affairs.

THE folly and the crimes of Vortigern had rendered him the object of universal detestation. In consequence of which, he was deposed from the throne by a general assembly of the British states, and the crown was given to his eldest son Vortimer.¹

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464

THE talents of this prince, exercised in a vigorous opposition to the Saxons, fully justified the choice of his country. The first measures of his reign were prudent and decisive. He proposed to the Saxons, that they might retire unmolested out of Britain; he separated his own ships from theirs; and having protected his fleet with a large body of his troops, he posted the remainder of his army in a strong situation.² Alarmed at this formidable appearance and spirited activity of Vortimer, the Saxons applied to the Picts and Scots to join in alliance against the common enemy.³ These people readily agreed to the invitation; and with the Saxons already stationed in those parts, formed a considerable force in the north. In the mean time, that a junction might not be formed of the two armies, Vortimer suddenly attacked the Saxons on their own ground in Kent, under the command of

¹ *Gwrtbelyr Fendigaid*. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Verstegan, cap. V. p. 128. Fabian's Chron. p. 73. Matth. Westm. p. 118.

² Berkeley's Naval Hist. p. 49.

³ Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 57. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222.

Hengist and Horfa. This battle was fought at Ailsford, and disputed with great obstinacy, but was at length decided in favour of the Britons.¹ Amidst the slaughter of the day, Horfa, and Cartigern* the younger brother of Vortimer, fell by each other's sword.² The Britons, little accustomed to the smiles of fortune, were animated by this victory to pursue their success; and in several battles which followed, they seem in general to have had the advantage.³ The last action is said to have been so decisive, that the Saxons were forced to retreat into the island of Thanet.⁴ The same good fortune likewise, favoured their arms in the north, against the combined forces of the Picts, and the Saxons under Octa.⁵ Dispirited by so many defeats upon land, Hengist, changing his plan of operation, determined that the dispute should be decided at sea; and as soon as his ships were manned with the choicest of his soldiers, he sailed in pursuit of the British fleet. Vortimer, equal to every emergency, and whose activity and valour had infused a spirit into his soldiers, was prepared to receive him, though inferior to the Saxon prince in the number and size of his vessels. In this action, contending for the fate of Britain on its proper element, Vortimer gained the advantage, took several of the enemy's ships, and entirely dispersed their fleet.⁶ Pursuing his good fortune, he renewed his attacks upon land, and drove the Saxons into the island of Thanet; and at

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 119. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 129.

* *Cyndegern*

² Fabian, p. 75.

³ Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores.

⁴ Fabian, p. 76. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 129.

⁵ Berkeley's Naval Hist. Eng. p. 49.

⁶ Ibid.

length obliged Hengist with his troops, who on this occasion deserted their women and children, to retire into Germany, in order to procure farther supplies.¹ After this event, the British prince collected his fleet, which had been dispersed in the late action; and his army was soon reinforced by numbers who crowded to his standard on account of his brilliant success.²

THE prosperity, which had just begun to dawn upon Britain, was soon clouded by the resentment and ambition of a woman. Since the disgrace of Vortigern, that monarch had been imprisoned in the city of Chester;* and during his confinement had behaved with general propriety, having given his son wife and faithful counsels, and having paid him a respectful obedience. This decent or politic conduct, and the recollection of the great qualities which he really possessed, or perhaps the natural fickleness of the people, formed a party in his favour, and drew him out of that general odium in which he had been for some time immersed.³

In this state of affairs, Rowenna, incited by revenge, and anxious to regain the dignity she had lost, meditated the murder of Vortimer. For this purpose, she engaged in her service by the promises of a great reward a young man, who, disguised in the habit of a gardener, it is said, appeared before the king

¹ Grafton's Chr. p. 89. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 129. Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 119.

² Berkeley's Naval Hist. p. 49.

* *Caer Lleon ar Ddyfrdwy.*

³ Fabian, p. 76.

one morning, while taking the air in his garden; and presented him with a nosegay of flowers, which was sprinkled with poison.¹ As soon as the king was sensible of its effects, and that his death was inevitable, he called into his presence the British nobility; exhorted them to a manly defence of their country; and required, that after his death they should erect a sepulchre on the sea shore, and fix it in the port where the Saxons usually landed;² deluded by the vain imagination, that the image and relics of a dead warrior, would infuse the same terror, which he himself had inspired when alive. The British nobles, however, not adopting the idle delusion of their master, or, what is more probable, negligent of his commands, interred him in London.*³

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468.

THE levity, which we have frequently noticed as a natural defect in the British character, appears at this juncture to have influenced the national council. For in that assembly, by an unaccountable caprice, Vortigern was re-elected to the sovereign dignity;⁴ the same man who a few years before had been solemnly deposed from the throne, as a traitor to his country,

Thus far the machinations of Rowenna had succeeded to her wishes. She had at length attained to her former grandeur by

¹ Evans's *Mirroure*, p. 106, from an old Manuscript. *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 129. Fabian, p. 76. *Matth. Westm.* p. 120. *Flores Historiarum*. These writers all agree that he was poisoned.

² *Geoff. Monmouth*, p. 192.

³ *Caer Ludd.* 3 *Matth. Westm.* p. 120. *Geoff. Monmouth*, p. 192.

⁴ Fabian, p. 76. *Geoff. Monmouth*, p. 193. *Gale's Script. Polychron. R. Higden*, p. 222. *Verstegan*, chap. V. p. 229.

wading

wading through the blood of her son-in-law; and what is but too probable, with the connivance of her infatuated husband. For this prince, at the instigation of his wife, sent intelligence of the late events into Germany, and desired that Hengist her father would come into Britain, privately, and with a small train; lest, if he came over with a larger force, he should be opposed by the united power of the Britons.¹ When Hengist acquainted his followers with this intelligence, and proposed to them the conquest of Britain, they expressed great reluctance to the enterprise, on account of its uncertainty and danger; as they had found by experience, that the Britons were brave when properly roused and led into action. Hengist had the address to remove these impressions, and to raise the hopes of his countrymen; by telling them, that though the Britons were brave, they were nevertheless inferior to themselves in policy, and in the stratagems of war.²

Thus allured by the flattering assurances of Hengist, four thousand Saxons embarked under his command.³ When the Saxons approached the British coast, they found that the inhabitants, under the command of Vortigern, appeared fully determined to oppose their landing.⁴ Intelligence of this being privately sent by Rowenna to her father, the Saxon prince had recourse to an expedient suggested by his wily and fertile imagination; as well as from a knowledge of the people, with whom he

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 120.

² Evans's Mirrour, p. 107.

³ Matth. Westm. p. 120. Verlegan, cap. V. p. 129.

⁴ Matth. Westm. p. 120. Verlegan, cap. V. p. 130.

had to act. In this artifice, the weakness or the treachery of Vortigern was employed. Hengist sent to assure that monarch, that his purpose in coming into Britain was not to offer any violence to the kingdom ; but only to make a vigorous opposition against his son Vortimer, whom he artfully pretended to believe was yet alive.¹ It was likewise proposed by Hengist, that an interview should take place between them, and that each of the princes should meet at the place appointed, attended by the most eminent of his train ;² and in order to banish every idea of hostile intention, it was artfully suggested by the Saxon chief, that both parties should appear without their arms. The proposal was agreed to by the king ; the time of meeting was fixed for the May following ; and the place appointed for the interview was probably at Stone-henge* upon Salisbury plains.³

In the mean time, Hengist, having assembled the leaders in his army, laid open to them his design ;⁴ that under the colour of meeting the Britons for the purposes of peace, and of establishing a lasting alliance, he intended to massacre those chieftains who should attend Vortigern to the interview ;⁵ that by striking so decisive a blow, he might cut the sinews of future resistance. At the same time he gave orders, that his train who attended the carousal, should carry knives concealed in their sleeves ; that when the signal was given, each of them should instantly stab

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 120.

² Verslegan, cap. V. p. 130.

³ *Cair Gaur*,

⁴ *Maes Mawr*. Matt. Westm. p. 130. Verslegan, chap. V. p. 130.

⁵ Evans's *Mirror*, p. 109.

⁶ Fabian, p. 77.

the person who sat upon his left hand ;¹ and he closed this infernal command by requiring them to “ behave like men, and to shew no mercy² to any person but to the king.”

NOTWITHSTANDING the many proofs which the Saxons had given of their perfidy, the Britons, with a degree of credulity peculiar to themselves, fell into the snare, and came unarmed to the place appointed for the interview ;³ where, by the contrivance of Hengist, they were placed with his train alternately at the tables, under the pretence of confidence, and of a friendly intercourse with each other.⁴ When the festivity was at the height, and probably in the unguarded moments of intoxication, Hengist gave the signal which had been agreed on, *Hem cower seaxes*, or take your *seaxes*. At that instant every Saxon drew out his knife, and plunged it into the bosom of the person who sat next to him. Above three hundred of the British nobility, the most eminent for their talents in the council or in the field, perished in this bloody carousal.⁵ Vortigern was spared in the general carnage, though detained a prisoner by Hengist ;⁶ probably with no other design than as a cover to a subsequent act of the British king, which carries with it a strong appearance of baseness ; for in order

A. D.
472.

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 120.

² Fabian, p. 77.

³ Matt. Westm. p. 120.

⁴ Evans's Mirrour, p. 109.

⁵ Matth. Westm. p. 120. W. Malmshury, lib. I. p. 9. Gale's Script. R. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 130. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. These writers differ respecting the number slain.

⁶ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 131. W. Malmshury, lib. I. p. 10. R. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Fabian, p. 77.

to obtain his liberty, he made an assignment to the Saxon prince, of the present counties of Essex, Suffex, and Middlesex, and also confirmed him in the possession of his former territories.¹

THE news of this massacre, we may easily suppose, spread among the Britons the utmost astonishment and horror; which was probably heightened by a deep suspicion of their sovereign having acted a secondary part, in a scene so cruel and perfidious. The evident partiality which Vortigern had shewn to the Saxons,² and his general flagitious conduct,³ had by this time rendered him almost universally detested.⁴ Covered with confusion and reproach, he withdrew into the wilds of Caernarvonshire;⁵ but though that solitary desert might conceal him from his injured country, it could not protect him from the consciousness of guilt, or of folly in the most pernicious extreme.

THE Britons, having been deceived by the late appearance of friendship, and neglecting also to provide against future contingencies, had dismissed those forces, which under Vortimer their late prince had gained so many victories, and had nearly established their freedom. At this juncture, it is said, they had only seven thousand men in arms who were fit for service;⁶ which was by no means a force equal to the great power of the Saxons,

¹ Nennius, cap. XLVII. Rapin, vol. I. p. 31. ² Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 37.

³ Matth. Westm. p. 128.

⁴ Ibid. p. 121.

⁵ Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 310. in Script. post Bedam.

⁶ Evans's Mirrour, p. 110.

rendered now more fierce from a sense of their late barbarity. That event was only the prelude to a scene of more extensive misery; for the Saxons, at this time, ravaged the whole country from the western to the eastern sea.¹ In the course of their ravages, private dwellings and public edifices were levelled with the ground: the common people were put to death without mercy: even venerable prelates shared the same fate; and the priests themselves were slain at the altar, performing the sacred duties of their office.² The bitter animosity, which usually attends difference in religion, increased the natural fierceness of a barbarous people. From this scene of misery, many of the Britons having fled for shelter into the mountains or woods, were pursued by the enemy and slain; others retired into foreign countries, probably to Armorica their usual asylum in distress; and numbers of them, driven to the last extreme of wretchedness, gave themselves up to slavery.³

VORTIGERN having deserted, or what is more probable, having been deposed from the throne; the Britons turned their eyes to Ambrosius,⁴ of the house of Cornwall, and the brother of Constantine their late sovereign; who had been murdered by Vortigern. This prince, and his brother Uthur Pendragon, had retired from the tyranny of that usurper, to their uncle the king of Armorica.⁵ By the assistance of that prince, Aurelius Ambrosius, with his

¹ Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

² Gildas, p. 8.

³ Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

⁴ Gildas, p. 9. Bede, lib. I. cap. XVI. p. 53.

⁵ Matth. Westm. p. 113.

A. D. 481. brother, landed in Britain at the head of a large body of forces, and was instantly raised to the throne.¹ This prince, influenced by motives of a private and of a public nature, detesting Vortigern as the murderer of his brother, and as a traitor to his country, and afraid of the cabals² of a powerful party in his favour, determined in his first enterprize, to free himself from a dangerous rival. By a rapid movement, he came so suddenly upon Vortigern, that the British king had scarcely time to fly to his retreat in North Wales. To this place he was pursued by Ambrosius, and his castle³ invested; which was burned to the ground, either by accident, or by the means employed in the siege.³ And here, in his old age, and after a turbulent reign of thirty-three years, he perished in the flames;⁴ together with all his women, one of whom it is said was his own daughter,⁵ who lived with him in a state of incest.⁶ The odium which pursued the memory of Vortigern, mingling with the superstition of the age, hath imputed his death to the immediate interposition of heaven.

IN the mean time, many of those Britons who inhabited the country possessed by Hengist, in abhorrence of the cruel and

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 128. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

² Fabian, p. 72.

³ *Castell Gwrtbeyrnion*, on the river Wye in *Arwyfly*.

⁴ Matth. Westm. p. 329. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 231.

⁵ Nennius, cap. XLVIII. Verstegan, cap. V. p. 132.

⁶ Nennius, cap. XXXVIII.

⁷ Fabian, p. 79. This prince had by his first wife three sons, Vortimer, Catigern, and Pasfen; and he had one son named Faustus, it is said, by his own daughter.

perfidious scene he had lately acted at Stone-henge, fled into other provinces; and by their desertion left his territories in a great measure without people or cultivation.¹ To remedy this evil, and to oppose the popular administration and spirited conduct of Ambrosius, Hengist invited over a fresh body of Saxons; offering them a part of his dominions for their residence. In consequence of this offer, a chieftain, named Ella, arrived with a body of forces, and landed on the coast of Suffex; and after a contest of several years, established his followers in that country. The name of Suffex was given to this territory, on account of its being the residence of the south Saxons.² This supply having given stability to his new dominions, Hengist planted a colony to the east of his own settlement in Kent, which took the name of Essex from the east Saxons; he likewise placed another in that district which lies between Suffex and Essex, and which was from thence called Middlesex, or the middle Saxons.³

THE death of his rival seated Ambrosius more firmly on the throne. So very popular was the name of this prince in Britain, that numbers crowded to fight under his standard.⁴ The Britons of Cambria likewise united in the common cause, and joined his army.⁵ With this force he marched against the Saxons in the country beyond the Humber, and entirely defeated them. Hen-

A. D.
481.

¹ Rapin Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 35.

² Gale's Scriptores. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224. Matt. Westm. p. 130. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 311. Script. post Bedam. Saxon Chr. p. 14.

³ Rapin, vol. I. p. 35. ⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 128. ⁵ Evans's Mirrour, p. 116.

gift their leader was taken prisoner. The Saxon prince being brought into the presence of Ambrosius, was instantly beheaded,¹ as an act of justice which was due to his desolated country, and to the massacre at Stone-henge; the army likewise threw a heap of stones over his grave, as a memorial of his infamy, and as a monument of their indignation.² The British prince then laid siege to the city of York; in which place, Osta the son of Hengist, and Esca his brother had taken refuge; but these leaders were soon obliged to surrender, upon condition, that they and the Saxon soldiers should retire into the country near Scotland.³ After this event, Ambrosius turned his arms against Ella the king of the South Saxons; over whose forces, it appears, that at first he gained some advantage.⁴ He then recovered London, Winchester, and Salisbury;⁵ all which cities had been seized by the Saxons after the massacre at Stone-henge.⁶

ON the disgrace or the death of Vortigern, his third son named Pascen, retired into Germany; with a view to induce the Saxons to support his claim upon the crown, and to join the common cause in the conquest of Britain. Having had the address to procure a body of troops, he landed upon the coast of Scotland, to join the Saxons who had lately been permitted by Ambrosius to settle in that country.⁷ This prince, receiving intelli-

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 131, 132. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Script.

² Geoff. Monmouth, p. 240. Sammes's Ant. Brit. p. 474.

³ Matt. Westm. p. 132.

⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 134.

⁵ Geoff. Monmouth, cap. IX. p. 243.

⁶ Matt. West. p. 120.

⁷ Ibid. p. 135.

gence of the invasion, instantly marched to oppose the son of Vortigern, whose army he entirely routed. On this defeat, Pascen sailed over into Ireland, to procure assistance from a king of that country; by this prince he was cordially received, and supplied with a body of seven thousand men. With this reinforcement he landed at Milford Haven,* and from thence ravaged the city of St. David in the present county of Pembroke, and all the country around it.

At this time, Ambrosius lay sick in the city of Winchester.†² The news of his sickness being brought to Pascen, he determined to derive some advantage from so favourable an incident, and instantly suggested the design of murdering the king. There was at that time in his train a Saxon, named Eppa, who was an artful person, and of great address; he had likewise some knowledge of the British language, and was acquainted with physic. This man was chosen as a proper instrument for his purpose; and, that he might more easily gain access to the king, appeared in the characters of a priest and a physician.³ Under favour of this disguise, Eppa was introduced into the palace of Ambrosius, and had the address to prescribe a medicine for that prince in quality of physician, in which he had taken care privately to mix poison.⁴ Ambrosius being dead, in consequence

* *Aberdaugleddau.* ² Matt. Westm. p. 135. Fabian, p. 81. † *Caer Went.*

³ Geoff. Monmouth, p. 252.

⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 135. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 253. ⁴ Geoff. Monmouth, p. 253. Fabian, p. 82.

of the poisonous medicine he had taken, the traitor instantly made his escape.¹ This gallant prince was interred in the convent of Ambrius,* supposed to be on Salisbury plains.²

A. D. 495. ABOUT this period Cerdic a Saxon chieftain, with his son Cenric, landed in Britain; and at length founded the kingdom of Wexsex, or the West Saxons.³

A. D. 500. ON the death of Ambrosius, his brother Uthur Pendragon was elected to the sovereign dignity.⁴

ON the accession of this prince, the Saxons having gathered strength, had again recourse to arms; and destroying all the fortified places from Scotland to the city of York, they at length laid siege to Caer-Ar-Clwyd,⁵ the capital of the Strath-Clyde kingdom. Uthur Pendragon marched to the relief of that place, where a battle ensued; which after a doubtful conflict, ended in favour of the Britons.⁶ In this action, the Saxon leaders Esca and Cofa, the son and cousin of Hengist, were taken prisoners,⁷ and confined in London: but these chiefs did not remain long in captivity; for having corrupted their guards, they escaped out of prison, and passed over into Germany; whence

¹ G. Monmouth, p. 253. * The present Amesbury. ² G. Monmouth, p. 274.

³ Saxon Chron. p. 15. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 313. Script. post Bedam. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224.

⁴ Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 58. Matt. Westm. p. 136. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185. ⁵ The present Dunbarton.

⁶ Matt. West. p. 136. ⁷ Ibid.

they

they returned into Britain with a fresh supply of soldiers. The two Saxon generals tried the fortune of war, once more, with Uthur, in a bloody and well disputed action at Verulam.¹ On that day, which again might have given a decisive issue to their fortunes, the Britons obtained a compleat victory; and the two leaders Eska and Oëta, were slain amidst the general slaughter of the Saxons. During the action, Uthur being indisposed, was carried in a litter through the ranks, to encourage the army by his presence. This event was immediately followed by the siege of Verulam, and after a bloody resistance, that city was taken by the king of Britain.² At length, after a reign of seventeen years of service and of glory, Uthur Pendragon ended his days by poison. His death happened at Verulam, and after the victory he had obtained there. His indisposition having increased, it had been his custom every day to drink water out of a certain fountain at a little distance from that city, into which some of the Saxons, suborned for that purpose, had contrived to infuse poison.³ The body of this British king was carried to the convent of Ambrius, and was interred there, near to the grave of his brother Ambrosius.⁴

A. D.
517.

THE recital of the extraordinary manner in which these princes have ended their days, may possibly be attended with the charge of credulity, or of affecting to enliven the subject, by exhibiting pictures of whatever is striking or uncommon. In extenuation

¹ Matt. West. p. 138.

² Ibid. p. 139.

³ Ibid. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 273.

⁴ Geoff. Monmouth, p. 274.

of this charge it is replied, that the facts have been taken from ancient writers, and are consistent with the manners of that barbarous age; and that such acts of violence were certainly frequent in the more enlightened period of the sixteenth century; at which time, it is well known, that the art of poisoning had attained a high degree of refinement.

A. D.
517.

AT this period, Maelgwyn, the eldest son of Caswallon-law-hir, reigned in that district which afterwards formed the principality of North Wales; and like his father had a pre-eminency over the other sovereigns of Cambria.¹ This prince was nephew to king Arthur² by the sister of that monarch, and had received a liberal education under the care of the celebrated Iltutus;³ and whatever were the vices which justly stained his character, he was eminent for stature, valour, and other talents for command; which naturally raised men, in times like these, into distinction and power.⁴ Maelgwyn was a formidable enemy to the Saxons, by his abilities, and by the strenuous opposition he made against that people: he likewise conquered the island of Man, and the Hebrides,⁵ and in consequence of this was stiled Draco Insularis. This prince usually resided at Diganwy in Caernarvonshire.⁶ During this period, the naval power, not only of Britain but also of Cambria, appears to have been an object of

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185.

² Langhorne's Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 90.

³ One of the primitive Fathers of the Cambrian church.

⁴ Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 225.

⁵ Rowland's Mon. Ant. 147, 148.

⁶ Ibid.

attention,

attention, and to have been established in some degree on a respectable footing.¹

ON the death of Uthur Pendragon, his son Arthur was elected to the British throne.² Divested of those illusions, that fancy or affection has raised, and which have ever attended the memory of this prince; there still remain concentrated in his character those qualities which form a great warrior, and the milder virtues which constitute whatever is amiable and good.

A. D.
517.

AFTER the ceremony of Arthur's coronation was performed at *Caer Lleon* upon *Uſk*,³ in Monmouthshire, he marched against the Saxons in the north; and meeting with Colgrin, a Saxon prince, on the banks of the river Douglas, a battle ensued; in which the latter was defeated. Apprized of a meditated attack on his camp, in the following night, by Pandulph the brother of Colgrin; Arthur sent a body of forces to intercept the enemy, many of whom were slain, and the remainder put to flight. The British king, then, laid siege to York; but being informed that a large body of Saxons under the command of Cerdic had landed in Scotland, he raised the siege, and retreated to London.⁴

¹ Selden's *Mare Clausum*, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

² Rowland's *Mon. Ant.* p. 185. *Verstegan*, c. V. p. 132.

³ *Caer Lleon ar Wŷg*, or the city of Legions upon the river *Uſk*. *Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary*, p. 82.

⁴ *Langhorne's Ch. Ang.* p. 60. *Matt. West.* p. 139, 140.

A. D.
518.

By virtue of his authority as sovereign or chief ruler of the kingdom, Arthur demanded the assistance of Caron king of Scotland, of Maelgwyn the sovereign of North Wales, of Meyric prince of South Wales, and of Cadur the duke of Cornwall.¹ He likewise, by advice of his council, desired the immediate support of his nephew Howel, the king of Armorica.² The Britons had uniformly experienced from that country the most friendly assistance; and Howel, it is said, brought fifteen thousand men to the aid of his uncle.³

Thus strongly reinforced, the British prince marched towards Lincoln; where meeting with the enemy, a battle ensued; in which the Saxons were defeated with the loss of six thousand men. The remainder flying into Scotland, took refuge in a wood; but were soon obliged to surrender to Arthur, on the conditions of giving hostages, of yielding up all their effects and spoils, and of retiring into their own country.⁴

Repenting of their late submission, those Saxons who had just before been defeated in Scotland, returned with an increased strength into Britain; and having formed a junction with Cerdic, and the different bodies under the command of Pascen and Eppa, invested Bath;⁵ in hopes that the Britons, to preserve a

¹ Evans's *Mirror*, p. 127, 128. from an old Welsh MS.

² G. Monmouth, p. 279. ³ Matth. West. p. 140. ⁴ Ibid. Langhorne, p. 61.

⁵ Called by Ptolemy, *Aquæ Calidæ*, or hot water; by Antoninus, *Aquæ Solis*, or water of the sun; by the Britons, *Caer Badon*; and by the Saxons, *Bathe*; said to be built by king Bladud, a British prince. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 19. Evans, p. 121. Matth. Westm. p. 141.

place of such importance, would attempt to raise the siege, and of consequence bring on a battle. In this expectation they were not deceived, as Arthur determined to run every hazard rather than to suffer that place to be taken.

THE critical nature of the times not admitting of delay, he sent summonses to the North, to Oxford,¹ London, Cornwall, and into Wales; with orders to the different chiefs to exert themselves in this dangerous situation of their country.² His summons was instantly obeyed by a chieftain of North Wales, of the name of Nathan Llwyd; and who joined him with a body of five thousand men.³ Having assembled his forces, king Arthur advanced to meet the enemy near Bath. The action on the first day between the two parties was obstinately disputed, great numbers on each side being slain; and though Arthur exerted his usual bravery and military talents, neither the Saxons nor Britons obtained any advantage.⁴ Both armies kept the field, waiting for the return of day to renew the fight. The Saxons, during the night, had posted themselves upon a rising ground called Bannestown, a situation of great importance, though it had been neglected by both armies the day before. Arthur perceiving his error, on the return of light, and the advantage of such a post, determined to dislodge them; which he accom-

¹ Called by the Britons Rhyd-Ychen, or the ford of Oxen; by the Saxons, Oxenford. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

² Evans's Mirrour, p. 120.

³ Ibid. p. 121.

⁴ Matt. Westm. p. 141. Langhorni Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 61.

plished after a very long and bloody resistance. Animated by the daring spirit of their prince, who rushed sword in hand amidst the ranks of the enemy, exhibiting astonishing proofs of valour and prowess, the Britons made a furious assault upon the Saxons; and perceiving some disorder as they retreated down the hill, pushed them with still more vigour, and in the end entirely defeated them.¹ In this day's action, two Saxon chiefs, Colgrin and Pandulph, were slain. Cerdic retreated with the remains of his army to the island of Thanet, to which place he was pursued by Cadur duke of Cornwall.²

A. D.
520.

An incident happened, at this time, which gave the Saxons leisure to breathe, and probably saved them from ruin. This event was produced by a diversion made in the north, by the Picts in alliance with the Saxons. These people knowing that Arthur was at a distance, and that his nephew Howel the king of Armorica lay sick at *Caer-ar-Clwyd*,³ a town standing on the river Clyde; took advantage of these favourable incidents, and laid siege to that place; concluding that they should take it before any relief could be given. The activity and rapid movements of Arthur disappointed their views. Forsaking the advantage which might have arisen by pursuing his late success; in the true spirit of chivalry, he flew to the assistance of his nephew, and raised the siege. In resentment of this act of hostility in the Picts, which had wrested from him the fruits of his victory,

¹ Matt. Westm. p. 141. Langhorni, Chr. Angl. p. 62.

² Ibid. p. 141.

³ Dun Barton.

Arthur laid waste their country; and it was only preserved from meditated ruin by the intercession of the Scottish bishops.¹

THE late victories having for the present secured the public peace, Howel the king of Armorica returned into his own kingdom.²

AFTER the defeat of Cerdic, this prince had remained quiet in his own dominions, expecting a supply from Germany.³ On the arrival of this reinforcement, he ravaged the British territories; and Arthur, though weakened by the numerous battles he had fought, endeavoured by every means in his power to repel so formidable an enemy. The fortune of the war remained some time uncertain; but Cerdic having at length gained a complete victory, the Britons were thrown into despair of being ever able to subdue the Saxons. Under the influence of this impression, and fearing lest he should wear out the strength of his remaining troops by continuing the war, Arthur found it necessary to negotiate with Cerdic; and to cede to him a part of his dominions, rather than to hazard the whole upon the issue of arms. In consequence of this negotiation, a peace was concluded, by the surrender of the counties of Hants and Somerset. The Saxon prince, fatigued with the toils of a long war, and desirous of repose,

¹ Langhorni Chr. Angl. p. 63. Matth. West. p. 141. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 288.

² Rapin's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 37.

³ Ranulph Higden. lib. V. p. 225. Langhorni, Chron. Angl. Reg. p. 68.

readily

readily agreed to the terms ; and at this time founded the kingdom of Wesssex, or of the West Saxons.¹

A. D. 527. AT this period, the Angles arrived on the eastern coast of Britain ; and in the course of time and slow progress of conquest, forced the natives to abandon that country ; on which these people settled, and founded the fifth kingdom by the name of the East Angles.²

THE peace of Armorica having been disturbed by an insurrection in that state, Howel sent into Britain to solicit assistance ; and the martial spirit of Arthur being unemployed at this time, he repaired in person to the relief of his nephew ; and restored the quiet of that country by slaying with his own hands the leader of the rebellion.³ Cerdic, taking advantage of the absence of king Arthur, and encouraged by the arrival of the Angles, broke the peace he had lately concluded ; and being seconded by the valour of his son Cenric, he extended his conquests, by gaining a signal victory over the Britons at Cerdic-leah, supposed to be in Buckinghamshire.⁴ In this season of danger, Arthur returned from the continent ; and his presence composed, in some measure, the disordered state of his kingdom.⁵

¹ Fabian, p. 94. Langhorni, Chr. Ang. Reg. p. 69. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 225. Gale's Script.

² Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 73. Matt. West. p. 142. ³ Langhorni, p. 74.

⁴ Saxon Chron. p. 18.

⁵ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 74.

THE king of Armorica, being fearful of an invasion from the *Visigoths*, once more desired the assistance of Arthur; and that prince, deserting the patriotism which had in general directed his conduct, left his own country in this perilous situation, to give assistance to his kinsman. He appointed, during his absence, his nephew Mordred* regent of the kingdom, and entrusted to his care Gueniver† his wife.¹ He had scarcely left his dominions, when Cerdic, again taking advantage of his absence, reduced the Isle of Wight.² But a blow more fatal to his interests and his feelings immediately followed. The regent, being captivated with the beauty of the British queen, and regardless of the duties which he owed to honour and to gratitude, had a criminal intercourse with that princess, and afterwards publicly married her.³ There are crimes of such a nature, as to urge men, on the principle of self-preservation, to plunge still deeper in guilt. In such a situation was the regent, who had no other means of avoiding the just vengeance of Arthur, than by accomplishing his ruin. The more effectually to promote this design, he entered into an alliance with Cerdic; and to engage him more strongly in his interests, he ceded to him the dutchy of Cornwall, with the counties of Suffex and Surry, of Berks, Wilts, Devon, and Dorset.⁴ Supported by such a powerful alliance, Mordred was immediately crowned at London.⁵

A. D.
530.

* *Meddrawd.* † *Gwenhwyfar.* ¹ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 78.

² Saxon Chron. p. 18.

³ Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 78. Matth. Westm. p. 144.

⁴ Langhorni, p. 79.

⁵ Ibid. Matt. West. p. 144. Fabian, p. 94.

AFTER

A. D.
535.

AFTER a stay of five years in Armorica, Arthur returned into Britain.¹ The conduct of that prince, wasting in romantic enterprises such an interesting period, was so opposite to the dictates of natural feelings and of policy, that sober reflection is inclined to reject it as a legendary fable. Indeed a judicious recital of events in these ages is peculiarly difficult; directed, or rather bewildered in his way by the glimmering of imperfect and partial records, the historian can only judge of the reality of incidents, by what is probable and consistent.

ON the return of Arthur into Britain, he was joined by many officers and soldiers, in consideration of the renown and esteem which he had acquired. With this small body of troops, he had to contend with the Saxons, the regent Mordred, and with the Picts, who had lately joined in the alliance.² However unequal the contest in point of numbers, that deficiency was balanced by the abilities of Arthur; who by the resources of his genius was enabled, with great advantage, to carry on the war seven years; until at length, pursuing his enemies from one place to another, he drove them into Cornwall; and a battle ensued at Camlan,³ between the two rivals, which decided the fortune of the war.⁴ This action proved fatal to the Britons, as their best soldiers in both armies were slain;⁵ and the two princes, engaging with great fury, perished by each other's sword. The traitor Mordred im-

A. D.
542.

¹ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 82. M. West. p. 144.

² Langhorni, p. 82.

³ Camden's Brit. p. 194: Holland's translation.

⁴ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 82—88.

⁵ Ibid.

mediately fell by the hand of Arthur.¹ The latter prince, sorely wounded, was carried to Glastonbury Abbey;* and after lingering a few days, died, and was interred there,² with Gueniver his second and best beloved wife.³ Thus fell by the hand of treason, full of days and of glory, the renowned Arthur. Such was the veneration in which this celebrated warrior was held by the Britons, that for many ages they could not be persuaded he was dead, but fondly expected his return from foreign countries to reinstate the British empire.

DURING the late reigns, the ancient Britons had attained to the meridian of their glory; but the period assigned for the close of their empire drew nigh, though the beams which brightened its decline lingered for a time in the west; until gradually receding from the sight, not a single ray remained upon the horizon.

THE death of Arthur decided the fate of Britain. The splendour which had distinguished the late æra, deriving its lustre from the virtue of a few individuals, became clouded by opposite qualities in the princes of the succeeding period. Before Arthur expired, he appointed his nephew Constantine, the son of Cador duke of Cornwall, to succeed him in his dignity;⁴ but this elevation could only extend to his hereditary dominions, as the fove-

¹ Langhorni, p. 82—88.

* *Trys Afallon*, or *Trys Wydrin*.

² Langhorni, p. 88.

³ *De Antiq. Glastonb.* p. 306. Gale's Script.

⁴ Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. p. 225. Langhorni, p. 86. Matth. Westm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 358.

A. D. 542. reignty of Britain was purely elective.¹ However he was called to that dignity by the voice of the people.² During his reign, the Saxons, having espoused the cause of the sons of Mordred the late regent, with a view no doubt of fomenting divisions; those two princes, after bloody wars with Constantine, and with various success, were obliged to give up the contest. One of these unfortunate youths having fled for sanctuary into the church of St. Amphibalus in Winchester, was there cruelly murdered by the British king; and the other, taking refuge in a convent in London, was massacred at the altar, a little time after, by the same prince.³ At length, this king, being harrassed by the Saxons, retired to his hereditary dominions of Cornwall;⁴ and, struck with remorse for the late murders, or sinking into the superstition of the age, he renounced the world, and engaged in a religious life.⁵ This prince was the last king of Britain of the Cornwall family.⁶

ENCOURAGED by the death of Arthur, and the dismay of the Britons in consequence of that event, a large body of Saxons under the command of Ida landed in Yorkshire; and with the consent of their countrymen who were already settled there, founded the kingdom of Northumberland.⁷

¹ Langhorni, p. 101. Rowland, p. 171. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132.

² Rowland, p. 184.

³ Ran. Higden, p. 225. Gale's Script. Langhorni, p. 101. Matth. Westm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 359. Gildas Epistola, p. 10.

⁴ Rowland, p. 146.

⁵ Ibid. p. 187. Langhorni, p. 117.

⁶ Rowland, p. 170.

⁷ Saxon Annals, p. 19.

MAELGWYN the king of North Wales endowed, at this time, the See of Bangor, with lands and franchises :¹ he likewise erected the town of that name ;² and also built or repaired Shrewsbury, and the castle of Harlech.³ It was at Bangor that this prince, struck, as it is said, with remorse for the crimes of his past life, resolved to devote himself to the austerities of a cloister ; but he soon renounced that design, and returned to the affairs of government, and to his old habits of criminal pleasures.⁴

A. D.
552.

AT this period, when the Saxons had conquered a great part of Britain, and had made their approaches to the borders of Cambria, that country appears to have been divided into six principalities. And in the present critical situation of affairs, the people of those districts assembled at the mouth of the river Dyvi, and elected Maelgwyn to the sovereign dignity.⁵ The choice of the Britons, in such a dangerous crisis, reflects some degree of honour on this prince ; and seems to contradict the character given of him by Gildas, who has censured him in the true spirit of monastic severity.

A. D.
560.

UPON the death of Maelgwyn, his son Rhun succeeded to the government of North Wales.⁶ This prince had a long and bloody war with the Saxons of Northumberland ; and on his

A. D.
560.

Rowland, p. 187. ¹ Langhorni, p. 98. ² J. Roffi, Ant. Warw. p. 65.

Gildas Epistola, p. 12. Gale's Scriptores. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 147.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 63. Verslegan, chap. V. p. 132.

⁶ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 187.

return into Wales, he gave great privileges to the inhabitants of Caernarvonshire, as a recompence for having detained them so long from their families on that northern expedition.¹ This prince resided at Caer Rhun, situated upon the banks of the river Conway;²

A. D. and at his death was succeeded by his son Beli.³
586.

AT this period, arrived Crida with a numerous body of Saxons; and having forced the Britons beyond the Severn, he founded the kingdom of Mercia; the greatest and the last principality of the Saxon heptarchy.⁴ The establishment of these seven kingdoms narrowed the bounds of the British dominions. Pressed on every side by advancing enemies, and weakened by incessant wars, the Britons were at length obliged to retire before the Saxon arms. But they retired indignant, and by slow degrees, to make another struggle for liberty amidst the mountains of Wales; a country which had been formed by nature as the suitable retreat, and the last asylum of freedom.

MANY Britons likewise retired into Cornwall and Armorica; and the latter country, about this time, took the name of Bretagne,⁵ on account of the great number of the refugees who had settled in it.

THE native Britons being in a great measure exterminated, or forced to fly into other countries, and the Saxons having carried

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 164.

² Ibid. p. 148.

³ Ibid. p. 187.

⁴ Matth. Westm. p. 150.

⁵ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132, 133.

on their conquests with the same destructive spirit which distinguished the other northern nations, the government of the conquerors, their laws, manners and language, with the names also of many of their cities, villages, rivers and woods,¹ were of consequence introduced into Britain; and became so perfectly established, that almost the remembrance of ancient institutions was lost.

IN reflecting on the many causes which have contributed to the decline of the ancient British empire, *one* will perhaps occur which may be thought more striking than the rest. This defect in the national character of the Britons, was an almost uniform negligence in establishing a naval power; although experience, and a maritime situation, pointed out its expediency; as the only effectual means of contending with the Saxons, and of counteracting their designs. This mode of defence was so obvious, that it might have struck the minds of any people, more rude than the Britons, who were situated in an island, and exposed to continual invasions.

¹ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 133.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE SAXONS
AND WELSH, TO THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT.

THE British empire being reduced to the narrow limits of Cambria, except the small territories of Cornwall and Strath-Clyde, that country about this period took the name of Wales. The inhabitants, likewise, with their ancient situation lost the title of Britons, and became distinguished by the name of the Welsh. Possessed of the warlike spirit which marked the British character, they carried into their mountains that rooted inveteracy against the Saxons, which hereditary wars, heightened by every injury, would naturally excite. The same severity of fortune which distinguished the ancient Britons, awaited the descendants of that brave people in their last asylum; as the conquest of this barren domain became the object of ambition, and policy, to the Saxon and Norman princes.

ABOUT this period, the province of *Cymru*, or Wales, appears to have been divided into six principalities, and governed by so many Reguli;¹ acknowledging, however, the supremacy of the kings of North Wales. This region extended about two hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth;² and was separated from England* by the rivers Severn and Dee, and surrounded on every other side by the Irish sea.³ The inhabitants in the British language were denominated *Cymry*; and they called the Saxons *Saefon*, and their language *Saefonaeg*.⁴ A. D. 599.

AT this period Jago ap Beli reigned in North Wales, and founded the Deanry of Bangor.⁵ His son Cadvan soon after succeeded to that dignity.⁶ The early part of this prince's reign was distinguished by the battle of Chester,⁷ and by the memorable massacre of the monks of Bangor. A. D. 599. A. D. 603.

EDELFRID the king of Northumberland, having obtained an advantage over the northern Britons, turned his arms against the Welsh; who were at that time in possession of Chester. On his arrival near that city, his army being drawn up in front of the enemy, he perceived a body of men without military appear-

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 63.

² Ibid. p. 57. Verstegan, chap. I. p. 1.

* *Lloegr*.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 50. ⁴ Ibid. p. 13, 51. ⁵ Rowland, p. 187. ⁶ Ibid. p. 188.

⁷ Called by the Britons *Caer-Lleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy*, or the city of the legions upon the water of Dee; the Saxons called it *Legan-Cestre*, and afterwards by abbreviation *Chester*; it appears in Antoninus, that it was called in Latin *Deva*, from the river Dee. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

ance, who were stationed in a place of security. Struck with the novelty of the fight, he enquired into the cause; and was told that they were monks from the monastery of Bangor, who had come to offer up their prayers for the prosperous event of the day. Enraged with an opposition so singular in its nature, and stimulated by hatred of a religion which threatened the destruction of Paganism, Edelfrid ordered his army to assault this defenceless and pious troop, who had already fasted and prayed for the space of three days. Twelve hundred of these unfortunate Religious were cut in pieces; fifty only of the whole number present in the battle having escaped the enemy's sword. Brochmael,* prince of Powys, having deserted their protection, had fled out of the field with his soldiers, on the first advance of the Saxons.

THIS unfavourable omen might naturally have cooled the ardour of a people less superstitious than the Welsh: but it seems that they regarded this act of Edelfrid as an impious sacrilege; and though in the action which ensued, or in the pursuit, they were terribly slaughtered, it appears however, by the great loss which their enemies sustained, that they made a spirited resistance. After the battle, the Saxon prince marched to Bangor, a British monastery situated on the banks of the river Dee; and with a barbarism peculiar to the Goths, destructive of those arts

* *Brochwal Ysgithrog.*

† Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 150. Bede, lib. II. cap. II. p. 80. Saxon Chron. p. 25. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 17.

which

which soften and improve human nature, he entirely laid waste that ancient and celebrated seminary of learning, and committed to the flames its valuable library.¹ Edelfrid then attempted to penetrate into Wales; but his passage over the Dee at Bangor was disputed by the prince of Powys, who gallantly sustained the charge until relieved by Cadvan the king of North Wales, by Meredydh the king of South Wales, and Bledrus the sovereign of Cornwall.² When the confederated princes had joined their forces, they called in religion to their aid. Dunothus,* the abbot of Bangor, made an oration to the army; and, before the action commenced, gave orders, that the soldiers should kiss the ground in commemoration of the communion of the body of Christ, and should take up water into their hands out of the river Dee, and drink it in remembrance of his sacred blood, which was shed for them.³ Animated by this act of devotion, which in these times had a powerful influence on the mind, and stung with resentment for the disgrace and injuries they had lately received, the Welsh encountered the Saxons with great bravery, entirely defeated them, with the loss of above ten thousand men; and obliged Edelfrid, with the remainder of his army, to retreat into their own country.⁴ There was something singular in the fortunate event of that day, as an act of retaliative justice, and as

¹ Langhorni, p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 71.

² Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 72. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 369.

* *Dinoeth*. ³ Langhorni, p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 72.

⁴ Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 371. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 72. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 151.

it severely punished, in the fight of Bangor, the recent desolation of its monastery.

IN consequence of this victory, Cadvan king of North Wales was elected at Chester to the sovereignty of Britain;¹ but in the present loss of empire, that dignity could extend no farther, than to command the united forces of the remaining Britons.

A. D.
613.

ON the death of Cadvan, his son Cadwallon succeeded to the kingdom of North Wales.² This prince carried his arms into Northumberland against Edwin the king of Deira, who had been educated in the court of Cadwallon; but a violent animosity had of late arisen between the two princes.³ The British king, advancing against the Saxon prince into Northumberland, was routed by Edwin, in a bloody battle fought at Widdrington;⁴ who pursuing his good fortune, extended his conquests over all the British territories in Wales, as well as the islands of Mona and Man.⁵

DURING these transactions, Cadwallon had taken refuge in Ireland.⁶ After an absence of some years, this prince recovered his dominions. An union of interests having engaged him in

¹ Verstegan, Geoff. Monmouth, &c. *ibid.*

² Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

³ Geoff. Monmouth, p. 372, 376. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Dissertation on British Chron. taken from the Triades.

* *Dinwydr.*

⁴ Matt. West. p. 165. Bede's Eccl. Hist. cap. IX. p. 87. William Malmesbury, lib. I. p. 18. Script. post Bedam. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Dissertation on British Chron. taken from the Triades.

⁵ *Ibid.*

an alliance with Penda king of Mercia, the two princes, with their joint forces, made a rapid movement into Yorkshire, and entirely defeated the Northumbrian king in Hatfield forest.¹ Edwin and his son fell in the battle, and left their country exposed to the ferocious spirit of the confederated princes.² A scene of desolation followed this victory, but Cadwallon surpassed his Pagan associate in cruelty and merciless ravages.³

A. D.
633.

ON the death of Edwin, Edfridus succeeded to the kingdom of Bernicia; and being nearly related to Penda by his mother, fled to the Mercian prince for protection.⁴ Cadwallon retiring to York, carried on from thence his furious depredations.⁵ At this juncture, Osric assumed the crown of Deira;⁶ and in hopes by one blow to take revenge for his desolated country, he invested that city; but, in a sally made by Cadwallon, he was slain, and his army defeated.⁶ His associate, the king of Bernicia, seeing their utmost exertions sink under the superior valour or fortune of the British prince, attempted to try the arts of negotiation. With this view he came to treat with Cadwallon in person, with only twelve soldiers in his train; but in return for such an instance of generous confidence, the Saxon prince, with his attendants,

A. D.
634.

¹ Bede, lib. II. cap. XX. p. 101. Brompton's Chron. p. 284.

² Saxon Chron. p. 29. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. p. 176.

³ Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 182. J. Brompton's Chron. p. 784. Wm. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 18. Gale's Script.

⁴ Bede, lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 784, 785. Langhorni, p. 182. ⁵ Matth. Westm. p. 167. ⁶ *Deifr.*

⁶ Ibid, Langhorni, p. 184. Brompton's Chron. p. 785.

were basely assassinated.¹ This outrage fully justifies the character of a cruel and faithless tyrant, given to this prince by the Saxon writers.²

A. D.
635.

AT this time, Cadwallon was chosen king of the Britons, very probably on account of his late success, and his ability to carry on the war.³

THE British king, after this act of violence, still continued to desolate the country, until his career was checked by Oswald; who, succeeding to the crowns of Deira and Bernicia,* united them into the kingdom of Northumberland.⁴ This prince, who at this time had embraced the Christian religion, was yet in his early youth, and had collected a small and determined band to oppose Cadwallon and his victorious army: and when the British king marched to attack the Saxons, he proceeded with all the security and insolence which a contempt of enemies, and the pride of victory, are apt to inspire. But Oswald, sensible of the greatness of the object for which he contended, acted with the utmost circumspection. With a view to heighten the ardour of his troops by religious enthusiasm, or to draw down prosperity on his arms by an act of devotion, he ordered a cross to be erected on the field of battle, to serve as the standard of the army. At this pious work Oswald himself assisted; and the moment

¹ Bede Eccl. Hist. lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 786. Matth. Westm. p. 167. Langhorni Chr. p. 184.

² Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 66.

³ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

* *Bryneich.*

⁴ Brompton's Chron. p. 785. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 13.

before the trumpet sounded the charge, that prince, accompanied by his army, kneeled at the foot of the cross; appealed to heaven for the justice of his cause, and implored its assistance to confound the insolence of his enemies. Fortified by these acts of piety in their sovereign, the Saxon troops early in the morning advanced to attack the enemy, and stormed their camp. In the action Cadwallon was slain; and the Welsh, driven into confusion by the death of their prince, were routed, and almost entirely cut in pieces. This battle is said to have happened at Denisbourne in Northumberland.¹

ON the death of this prince, his son Cadwalader succeeded to the kingdom of North Wales, and to the ideal sovereignty of Britain.² In the course of his reign, the irruptions of the Saxons had become more frequent; and a famine, with its usual attendant a pestilential distemper, had raged in Britain;³ the consequent evils of desolating wars, and of a disordered police. To avoid the common dangers of his country, a conduct which did not mark a magnanimous spirit, Cadwalader with numbers of his nobility and other subjects retired to Alan his kinsman, the king of Bretagne; in whose court he found an hospitable reception.⁴ From an uniform and perhaps a singular principle of affection, we have seen this country afford an asylum to the Britons in every season of adversity.

A. D.
676.

A. D.
689.

¹ Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. III. cap. II. p. 104. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. cap. III. p. 19.

² Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

³ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 8.

⁴ Baker's Chron. p. 4. J. Fordun's Hist. Scot. Gale's Scriptor. p. 647.

AFTER.

AFTER residing some time in the court of Bretaigne, Cadwalader prepared to return into Wales; having heard that the famine and pestilence had ceased, and that the Saxons, with increasing power, were endeavouring to extend their conquests.¹ With this view, he collected an army composed of his own subjects and his allies the Bretons, with a suitable fleet to transport them across the channel.² A magnanimous prince, in such a situation, would either have rescued his country from its danger, or would have buried himself in its ruins. But at the moment that Cadwalader was going to embark, he was warned in a vision, which he fancied to be a sudden impulse from heaven; and which directed him to lay aside the cares of the world, to go immediately to Rome, and to receive holy orders from the hands of the Pope. This illusion, the effect of a weak or a distempered mind, he communicated to the king of Bretaigne; who, probably from interested motives, took advantage of this incident to act on the weakness of this prince, and on the credulous spirit of his nation; a spirit which, in common with every other people in the same stage of refinement, always paid a high veneration to men, who, under the impulse of a warm imagination, fancied themselves to be endued with the power of revealing future events.

HAVING consulted the prophetic books of the two *Merlins*,³ which, by the Britons, were deemed as sacred as the pages of the

¹ Baker's Chron. p. 4. Welsh Chron. by Caradoc of Llancarvan, and re-published by Dr. Powel, p. 3.

² Ibid.

There were two of that name; the first, called Merddyn Wyllt, was born in Scotland; the other, called Merddyn Emrys, was born at Caermarthen. Humfrey Lluyd, p. 79. Lewis Morris.

Roman *Sybils*; Alan told him, that they predicted the ruin of the British empire, until the time that the bones of king Cadwalader should be brought back from Rome. He then advised him to act up to the patriotic design, and to follow the impulse of his vision. Thus confirmed in the delusion, Cadwalader proceeded to Rome; and agreeably to the interested views of the Roman pontiffs, was kindly received by Pope Sergius. After he had submitted to have his head shaven, and to be initiated into the order of white monks, this British king lived eight years as a religious recluse; exemplary in the piety of those days, but in a situation unworthy of a prince; as it secluded him from the practice of active virtue, and of consequence from promoting the real interests of his people; for which great end alone princes are delegated to rule mankind.

THE death of Cadwalader closed the imperial dignity which had been annexed many ages to the British government.² The Welsh princes of later times usually resided at Diganwy³ on the water of Conway,* and at Caer Segont⁴ near Caernarvon.⁵

A. D.
703.

CADWALADER having thus, in the weakness of superstition, abdicated his throne; and his son Edwal,† yet a minor, being

² Wynne Hist. Wales, p. 10, 11.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 5. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

³ Famous in Tacitus by the name of Cangorum (the people there being called Cangi) and called afterwards Gannock by the English. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

* *Cynwy*.

⁴ Called by the Romans Segontium.

⁵ Caer-yn-ar-von; the city opposite Mona. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65. Wynne Hist. Wales, p. 12.

† *Edwal Iurcb*.

under

under the protection of Alan, this latter prince appears to have thrown off the mask; and to have been desirous of realizing the prospects of ambition, which the late event had opened to his view. Under colour, no doubt, of acting for the common cause, he attached to his service those Welsh who had been the followers of the late prince; and with these troops and a body of his own subjects, under the command of his son Ivor, a descent was made on the western coast of Britain. Alarmed at this dangerous invasion, the Saxons opposed Ivor with their accustomed spirit and resolution.¹ But that prince, having defeated them with great slaughter, gained possession of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset.² To oppose this invasion, become formidable by the acquisition of these territories to Ivor, Kentwyn, king of the west Saxons, drew together a considerable force. Each of the princes, sensible of the importance of the contest, seemed unwilling to put it to the decision of arms: in the end, the arts of love and negotiation prevailed; and Ivor, satisfied with the conquests already made, agreed to marry Ethelburga, the cousin of the Saxon prince. By this marriage, by the death of Kentwyn, and by Cedwell the nephew of that Saxon prince retiring to Rome, Ivor became sovereign of the western part of Britain; including the Saxon and British territories. Wearied, at length, with the cares of government, or sinking into the superstition of the age, or struck with remorse for his past injustice, this prince withdrew from the cares of royalty, and buried himself in the recesses of

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 7, 8.

² Welsh Chron. p. 8. by Carodoc of Llancarvan, translated by Dr. Powel, about 1584.

a cloister.

a cloister. As a more effectual atonement for the injuries which had been done to the family of Cadwalader, he left to Roderic Moelwynoc, the grandson of that prince, his British dominions.¹

RODERIC had no sooner taken possession of his territories, than Adelred, who succeeded Ivor in the Saxon part of his dominions, invaded Devonshire; and with fire and sword carried desolation through the country. He was proceeding with the like ravages into Cornwall; but was met upon the confines by the Britons, who defeated his forces, and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions.²

A. D.
720.

A. D.
721.

THE fertile and pleasant lands which are situated between the Severn and the Wye, tempted Ethelbald to form the design of annexing them to his Mercian kingdom. With this view, he invaded that part of the country with a powerful army, and proceeded with the usual devastations as far as Carno mountain near Abergavenny.* On this mountain he was opposed by the Welsh, and a fierce and bloody battle ensued, which was not however decisive in favour of either party.³ The same prince, some years after, having formed an alliance with Adelred, king of the West Saxons, these princes marched their united forces into Wales. Though the danger was imminent, and their powers

A. D.
728.

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 15. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 15. * *Abergavenny*.

³ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 16. At this time (A. D. 734.) died the venerable Bede. Flores Hist. Matt. West. p. 203.

of resistance comparatively small, the Welsh, with great spirit, opposed the combined princes; and a well contested action, and miserable slaughter on both sides ensued, until the former were overpowered by superiority of numbers. Dispirited by this defeat, and taking advantage of a rupture which had arisen between Ethelbald and Cudred, who had succeeded to the throne of the West Saxons, the Welsh entered into an alliance with the latter prince. Elated however with his late victory, and regardless of this accession to their power, Ethelbald attempted another invasion of Wales, and advanced as far as Hereford.¹ At that place, likewise, he met with a spirited resistance from the Welsh; and by the assistance of their allies, they gave him a signal overthrow.² But a reconciliation taking place between the Saxon kings, Cudred withdrew from the interests of the Welsh, and joined his forces with those of Ethelbald. The military prowess of their allies being thus taken from the Welsh, the scale was turned; and in another battle which soon after ensued with the Saxons, they were entirely discomfited.³

A. D.
733.

A. D.
746.

A DARK cloud at this period settled over the British hemisphere; and the few governments which still remained amidst the ruins of time, except those of Wales, became extinguished one after the other. Eadbert, the king of Northumberland, an active and valiant prince, turned his arms against the Strath-Clyde Britons,

¹ Anciently called Henffordd, or the old road of Englishmen. Humphrey Lhuyd, p. 74.

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 17.

³ Henry Huntingdon, p. 340. Script. post Bedam. Matt. West. p. 206. Brompton, p. 768.

and

and made himself master of *Caer-ar-Clwyd*, the capital of their dominions.¹ The western part of Britain, likewise, which had been under the sovereignty of Roderic Moelwynoc, the son of Edwal, was at this time conquered by the Saxons; and that prince forced to retire into North Wales. The government of this country had been possessed by the two sons of Bledrus the prince of Cornwall, ever since Cadvan had been elected to the sovereign dignity; and, however singular the incident may appear, Roderic seems to have been quietly permitted to enjoy his right as soon as he had announced his claim.² This prince soon after died, and left two sons, *Cynan Tindaethwy* and *Howel*.³ He usually resided at *Caer Segont* on the straits of the *Menai* in *Caernarvonshire*.⁴

A. D.
750.

A. D.
750.

AMIDST the continual wars which had so long harrassed the Saxons and the Welsh, neither of these people had much leisure to attend to maritime affairs; and the naval power of Britain was of course inconsiderable; however the attention which was given to this necessary measure, was, at this time, only to be found in the ports of Wales.⁵

CYNAN TINDAETHWY, the eldest son of the deceased prince, succeeded to the throne of North Wales.⁶ The late success of the Saxons in the western part of Britain encouraged them in the design of extending their dominions, and inspired them with a

A. D.
755.

¹ Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 287. Simon Dunelme, p. 105. Sammes's Ant. of Britain, p. 546.

² Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

³ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 17, 18.

⁴ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 172.

⁵ Berkeley's Naval Hist. of Brit. p. 58.

⁶ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

confident expectation of being able to make an easy conquest of Wales. In the pursuit of this design they proceeded as far as Hereford; but on that frontier they were again fiercely received by the Welsh; and the battle very probably ended in favour of the latter, history being silent as to the event and further progress of the invasion.¹

A. D. 763. AT this time Offa reigned in Mercia.²

A. D. 776. THE easiness of approach to the fertile plains of South Wales invited continual inroads; and consequently, that country was more harrassed, and sooner narrowed in its boundaries, than the mountainous territory of North Wales. The inhabitants of South Wales, fired with resentment at reiterated injuries, rose up in arms, entered Mercia with fire and sword, and retaliated on the Saxons their usual devastations. They soon after made other successful inroads; and obliging their enemies to retire beyond the Severn, returned into their own country with a considerable quantity of cattle. Allured by the prospect of spoil, and animated by their late success, instead of acting upon the defensive, which had hitherto been the utmost exertion of the Welsh, a new plan of operation took place; a spirit of enterprise ensued; and by sudden and frequent incursions into Mercia, they enriched themselves, avenged their national injuries, and filled the Saxon borders with continual alarm, and devastation.³

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 18.

² Saxon Annal. p. 59.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 19.

THESE unusual and formidable exertions in the Welsh induced Offa to enter into a league with the other Saxon princes; that with their united strength they might at once destroy, or give a check to this enterprising spirit.¹ A considerable army, in consequence, passed the Severn into Wales; but the Welsh, too weak to encounter so great a force, retreated to the mountains; and the Saxons likewise, unable to penetrate with advantage the natural fortifications of the country, returned into Mercia.² Offa, sensible of the evils produced by these inroads, and unable to prevent them, agreeably to the policy of his military ancestors, planted a colony of Saxons in the country near the Severn* and Wye;³ whose immediate interest it became, to confine to the mountains the valour and restless activity of the Welsh. To mark the confines of each country, or to give greater security to his own, he likewise caused a deep dyke and a high rampart to be made, which extended a hundred miles over rocks and mountains, and across deep vallies and rivers, from the water of Dee to the mouth of the Wye.⁴ This great work still retains the ancient name of Clawdd Offa, or Offa's Dyke; and is an evidence of the ignorance and barbarism of the age, having been raised with immense labour, but directed to no important use, either to mark the boundaries, or as a line of defence between hostile nations. The large towns and cities situated to the east of the Severn and Dee, were probably built at this period; to check the irruptions

A. D.
780.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 19.

² Ibid.

* *Hafren and Gwy.*

³ Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 292.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 19. Langhorni Chron. Ang. p. 292. Humfrey Lhuyd's Bre-
viary, p. 51.

of the Welsh by a strong line of frontier posts.¹ The villages likewise on the east side of Clawdh Offa, whose names terminate in *ton* or *ham*, were about this time inhabited by Saxons,² who were usually called *Gwyr-y-mars*, or the men of Mercia; though in after times the Welsh settled on each side of the Dyke.³

THE change which this innovation had made in Powys, by narrowing its boundaries; and Shrewsbury having been lately taken by the Saxons, made it necessary to remove the royal residence of the princes of Powys, from that town to Mathraval,⁴ situated in the present county of Montgomery.⁵

THOUGH an interval of peace had given Offa the opportunity of finishing this celebrated Dyke, the Welsh were not insensible of the dishonour and injury done to their country. But concealing their feelings under the mask of indifference, they secretly concerted the plan of its destruction; and acting, by previous agreement, with the kings of Northumberland and of the South Saxons, with whom they were then in alliance, they suddenly beset Clawdh Offa in the night of St. Stephen's day, the night itself being extremely dark; and assisted also by the country people, they broke down the rampart, and in a short time filled up and levelled the Dyke to the length of a bow-shot. Early in the

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 26.

² Ibid. p. 51.

³ Ibid. p. 50.

⁴ Its ancient name was Pengwern, or the head of a place where alders grow, and was the seat of the kings of Powys; whence the Saxon term Schrewsbury is derived, Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

morning,

morning, they assailed the camp of king Offa,¹ and slew great numbers of his soldiers; who, depending on the truce, were either asleep or unarmed, or had given themselves up to the pleasures, or to the religious observance, of the festival.²

THE Saxon prince instantly rallied his forces, and rushed into the midst of the enemy; but his troops, all in confusion and not properly armed, were intimidated, and could not sustain the onset of the Welsh; and it was not without great difficulty and slaughter, that they were able to bring off their leader, and recover their camp. On this disaster, Offa retired into his own dominions, meditating vengeance. The first impression of his anger, on his return, for this insulting violation of the truce, fell upon the hostages which were given by those persons who had lately broken the peace, whom he ordered to be more strictly confined; and, still unsatisfied with this severity, their wives and families also were either sold, or reserved for perpetual slavery.³

OFFA, still breathing revenge, marched, some time after, into the confines of Wales, with a well equipped and formidable army; but for several years he was not able to make any impression, being greatly annoyed by the Welsh; who, from their woods and mountains made continual irruptions upon his forces.⁴ Both parties coming, at length, to a general engagement upon

¹ Supposed to be at Sutton Wallis near Hereford.

² Matth. Paris Monachi Albanensis Vita Duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum, p. 975, 976.

³ Matth. Paris Monachi Albanensis, &c. p. 976.

⁴ Matth. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976.

A. D. Rhudd-lan marsh; the Welsh, under the command of Caradoc,
795. a chieftain of the country, and descended from the house of Cornwall, were entirely defeated¹ with a dreadful slaughter; and their leader slain in the action.² Besides this great loss which the Welsh had suffered, the Saxon prince commanded all the children and the men, who unfortunately fell into his hands, to be massacred; the women scarcely escaping his fury.³

THE memory of this tragical event has been carried down to posterity, by an ancient ballad called Morva Rhudd-lan, the notes of which are most tenderly plaintive.

A. D. Soon after this memorable event, died Offa, king of Mercia.⁴
796. Some historians say that he was slain in the battle of Rhudd-lan, with Meredyth the prince of Pembroke.*⁵

It may not be unnecessary here, after a tedious recital of inroads and battles, to give some relief to the reader's mind, by opening to his view the modes of life and private manners of the ancient Welsh.

WE are indebted to Giraldus Cambrensis, for the following very lively traits which he has transmitted of the

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 20.

² According to tradition, the remaining Welsh who had escaped the enemy's sword, flying with precipitation over the marsh, perished in the water by the flowing of the tide. ³ Matth. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976. ⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 20.

⁵ *Dyfed*. ⁶ Camden's Britannia, Gibson's Notes on Flintshire, p. 690, from Mss. of Vaughan Hengwrt.

Welsh nation ; at a period when those manners were pure and unadulterated by foreign intercourse. And though this writer may, on some occasions, sink into credulous weakness, and be directed by a partial spirit, yet surely, in their great outlines, the representations which he has given of manners, though himself a native of the country, must have been closely copied from original features, and must afford a striking resemblance of national character.

THE Welsh¹ were a nation light and active, and more fierce than strong ; from the lowest to the highest of the people they were devoted to arms, which the plowman as well as the courtier was prepared to seize on the first summons. Their usual custom in works of husbandry was, that for oats they opened the soil, once only in March or April ; and for wheat or rye, they turned it up, twice in the summer, and a third time in winter about the season of thrashing.

THE chief sustenance of this people, in respect of their food, was cattle and oats, besides milk, cheese, and butter ; though they usually ate more plentifully of flesh meat than of bread.

As they were not engaged in the occupations of traffic either by sea or land, their time was entirely employed in military affairs. They were so anxious for the preservation of their country and its liberties, that they esteemed it delightful not only to fight for

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis Itiner. cap. IV. V.

them, but even to sacrifice their lives : and agreeably to this spirit, they entertained an idea, that it was a disgrace to die in their beds, but an honour to fall in the field. Such was their eager courage, that although unarmed, they often dared to engage with men entirely covered with armour ; and in such engagements, by their activity and valour, they frequently came off conquerors. That their activity might not be impeded by any unnecessary incumbrance, they made use of light armour ; such as smaller coats of mail, shields, and sometimes of iron greaves. Their offensive weapons were arrows and long spears. Their bows were usually made of slight twigs joined or twisted together ; and though rude in their form, they discharged an arrow with great force. The people of North Wales were remarkable for spears so long and well pointed, that they could pierce through an iron coat of mail. The men of South Wales were accounted the most expert archers. The chieftains when they marched to war, were mounted on swift horses, bred in the country ; the lower sorts of people, on account of the marshes, as well as the inequalities of the ground, marched on foot to battle ; though, whenever the occasion or the place rendered it necessary for the purposes either of fighting or flying, the horsemen themselves dismounted and served on foot.

THE Welsh were accustomed to walk with their feet entirely bare ; or, instead of shoes, they used boots of raw leather.

In the time of peace, the young men accustomed themselves to penetrate the woods and thickets, and to run over the tops

of mountains ; and by continuing this exercise through the day and night, they prepared themselves for the fatigues and employments of war.

THESE people were not given to excess either in eating or drinking. They had no set time appointed for their meals, nor any expensive richness in their clothes. Their whole attention was occupied in the splendid appearance of their horses and arms, in the defence of their country, and in the care of their plunder. Accustomed to fast from morning to night, their minds were wholly employed on their business ; they gave up the day entirely to prudent deliberations, and in the evening they partook of a sober supper. But if, at any time, it happened, that they were not able to procure any, or only a very sparing repast, they patiently waited until the next morning ; and in this situation, prevented neither by hunger nor cold, they were eager to take advantage of dark and stormy nights for hostile invasions.

THERE was not a beggar to be seen among these people, for the tables of all were common to all ; and with them bounty, and particularly hospitable entertainment, were in higher estimation than any of the other virtues. Hospitality, indeed, was so much the habit of this nation, by a mutual return of such civilities, that it was neither offered to, nor requested by, travellers. As soon as they entered any house, they immediately delivered their arms into the custody of a person in the family ; and if they suffered their feet to be washed by those, who for that purpose directly offered them water, they were considered as

lodgers for the night. The refusal of this civility, intimated their desire of a morning's refreshment only. The offer of water for the purpose of washing the feet, was considered as an invitation to accept of hospitable entertainment. The young men usually marched in parties, or in tribes, a leader being appointed to each; and as they were devoted to arms, or given up to leisure, and were courageous in the defence of their country, they were permitted to enter the house of any person with the same security as their own. The strangers, who arrived in the morning, were entertained until evening with the conversation of young women, and with the music of the harp; for in this country almost every house was provided with both. Hence we may reasonably conclude, that the people were not much inclined to jealousy. Such an influence had the habit of music on their minds, and its fascinating powers, that in every family, or in every tribe, they esteemed skill in playing on the harp beyond any kind of learning.

IN the evening, when the visitors were arrived, an entertainment was provided according to the number and dignity of the persons, and the wealth of the house; on which occasion the cook was not fatigued with dressing many dishes, nor such as were high seasoned as stimulatives to gluttony; nor was the house furnished with tables, napkins, or towels; for in all these things they studied nature more than shew. The guests were placed by *threes* at supper, and the dishes at the same time were put on rushes, in large and ample platters made of clean grass, with thin and broad cakes of bread, baked every day. At the same time that the whole family, with a kind of emulation in their civilities,

civilities, were in waiting ; the master and mistress in particular were always standing, very attentively overlooking the whole. When the hour of sleep approached, they all lay down in common on the public bed, ranged lengthwise along the sides of the room ; a few rushes being strewed on the floor, and covered only with a coarse cloth, the produce of the country. The same garb that the people were used to wear in the day, served them also in the night ; and this consisted of a thin mantle, and a garment or shirt worn next to the skin. The fire was kept burning at their feet throughout the night, as well as in the day.

THE women of this nation, as well as the men, had their hair cut round at the ears and eyes. The women also, as a head dress, wore a large white robe, folding round, and rising by degrees into a graceful tuft or crown. Both the men and the women were exceedingly attentive to the preservation of their teeth ; by constantly rubbing them with green hazel, probably the leaves or bark, and cleaning them with a woollen cloth, they kept their teeth as white as ivory ; and to preserve them still more, they abstained from every kind of hot food. The men were accustomed to shave the whole beard, leaving only a whisker on the upper lip ; they likewise cut short or shaved the hair of their heads, that it might be no impediment to their activity in passing through the thick woods and forests that covered their country.

THE Welsh, according to Giraldus, were a people of an acute and subtle genius. In civil causes and actions, they exerted all the powers of rhetoric ; and, in the conduct of these, their talents

families ; and were able from memory to recite the names, not only of their immediate ancestors, but to the sixth and seventh generation, and even to trace them still farther back ; in this manner, Rhys ap Gryffydd, ap Rhys, ap Tewdwr, ap Einion, ap Owen, ap Howel, ap Cadell, ap Roderic the Great.*

A WELSHMAN was considered as honourable, if among his ancestors there had been neither slave, nor foreigner, nor infamous person.¹ Yet if any foreigner had saved the life of a Welshman, or delivered him from captivity, he might be naturalized, and was entitled to the rights of Welshmen. And any foreign family, having resided in Wales for four generations, were also admitted to the same privileges.²

THE love which they felt for family connections was eager and warm ; and of consequence they were keen in their resentments, and revenged deeply any injury committed on their family either of blood or dishonour. They were vindictive and cruel in their anger ; and exceedingly prompt to revenge not only recent injuries, but those which had been committed a long time past, and even in a remote period. What spread still farther this spirit of revenge, was a custom prevalent among the Welsh, of sending their children to be nursed in other families. These families, in consequence, took under their protection the children they had fostered ; and always considered it as a high obligation on themselves, to promote their interests, and to revenge

* The royal line of South Wales.

¹ Howel Dha's Laws.

² Ibid.

their

their injuries. This custom, it is probable, principally prevailed in the families of chieftains and princes.*

THE Welsh did not reside in cities, villages, or camps; but, in general, led a solitary life in the woods.

ON the borders of their forests, it was usual, not to raise great palaces, nor sumptuous houses built with stone; but only to twist together osier coverings, suited to the different seasons of the year, with as little labour as expence. But these dwellings must certainly have been confined to the lower orders of the people. They were accustomed neither to orchards nor gardens. Their fields were mostly in pasture; little cultivated, seldom plowed, and scarcely ever sown or planted. Yet the Welsh, sensible of the great utility of agriculture, instituted a kind of plowing society; which consisted of persons who contributed oxen and implements of husbandry, for the purpose of tilling a stipulated quantity of ground. To this useful design, great encouragement was given by the Welsh laws.* To their ploughs and carts they sometimes joined two oxen, but more frequently made use of four; the driver going before, and, what is very singular, usually walking backwards; and on that account, if the oxen were not properly trained to the yoke, he was exposed to great danger. They made very little use of the scythe or sickle either to mow or reap; but employed a singular kind of instrument, a middle sized iron in the shape of a pruning knife, chained loosely at each end to two staves.

* Hist. of Gwedir family.

* Howel Dha's Laws.

THEY used likewise small boats^{*} made of ozier for the purposes of fishing, or of passing rivers. These were not of an oblong form, had not any beaks, but were made nearly round, or rather of a triangular shape; and were covered both in the inside and on the outside with raw skins. The boats were so light, that the fishermen usually carried them on their shoulders.

THE Welsh were first instructed in the Christian faith by Faganus and Damianus; who were sent by Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, at the request of king Lucius. From this period, to the time when St. Germain was sent into Britain on account of the Pelagian doctrine, no heretical opinions were to be found in Wales. Agreeably to the doctrines received from that missionary, they gave to the poor a part of the bread which was served up at the altar; and they sat down to table by *threes* in honour of the Trinity. Whenever they met any person in a religious habit, such as a monk, or clerk; they immediately threw down their arms, bowed their heads, and begged his blessing. To mark the religious spirit of his countrymen still more, Giraldus says, that the Welsh were more eager to obtain episcopal confirmation, and the chrism, by which the spirit was given, than any other nation. They gave the tenth of all that they possessed of animals, sheep, and sometimes of cattle, in the following cases; whenever they engaged in a military marriage; when they first set out on a pilgrimage; or, by the remonstrance of the church, whenever they made any amendment in their lives. This division of their

^{*} These kind of boats are still used in Wales, and are called corricles.

property they called the Great Tithe ; two parts of which they bestowed on their own baptismal church, and a third was given to the bishop of the diocese. The pilgrimage which above all others was deemed most sacred by the Welsh, was a journey to Rome. They paid also great reverence to churches, and to the clergy ; to the relics of saints, to their portable bells, to text books, and to the crosses.¹

FROM this spirit of superstitious piety, very peculiar privileges of sanctuary have been given to the Welsh churches. Not only in cemeteries or burial places, but within the precincts of certain boundaries appointed by the bishop, all animals had the liberty of feeding in perfect security. The larger churches, endowed with greater privileges on account of their antiquity, extended their bounds of sanctuary still farther ; as far as the cattle could go in the morning and return at night. So sacred were the privileges of sanctuary, that if any person, at enmity with his sovereign, sought the refuge of the church ; his own person, his family, and all his property remained in the most perfect security. If any attempt was made to violate the sanctuary, it appears, that the parties under its protection, might retaliate the injury even on the prince himself, and might commit depredations in the country.²

IT

¹ As a proof of the religious spirit which about this time prevailed, three thousand Welsh, the most expert in archery and in the use of the pike, engaged to go into the Holy Land, at the instance of the archbishop of Canterbury ; who, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, preached the Croisades in the year 1188 throughout Wales. Giraldus Camb. Itinerarii Camb. cap. XIII. p. 226.

² Thus far from Giraldus Cambrensis, (*Cambriæ Descriptio*, from p. 254 to 275)

It was necessary on the accession of the king, that the proprietors of ecclesiastical lands should appear before him, to lay open their rights and privileges; to whom, if their claims were just, he confirmed those privileges, and the rights of sanctuary.¹ If any offender fled to sanctuary, and an action was instituted against him, neither the abbot nor monks could protect him, until he had made satisfaction for his offence; if no such action was brought, they were then to conduct him to the place in which he was to remain.² If any person, taking refuge in a sanctuary, committed any criminal act, he lost the privileges of that asylum, and was obliged to fly into another sanctuary; or to forfeit all his property to the religious place whose protection he had violated. If any person, carrying about him the relics of saints, committed a crime under their protection, he was not entitled to any privileges on their account; and in such case, likewise, he forfeited all his goods to that asylum, unless he had already procured another.³ Any person who had taken sanctuary, might freely go about the cemetery and the court of the church, without carrying relics; and his cattle might feed with those of the monastery, and remain in security as far as the herds of the monastery were allowed to go. Disputes concerning the property of lands, when both parties were ecclesiastics, were not cognisable by the Welsh laws.⁴

¹ A learned monk, who lived in the reign of Henry the second, and was a native of South Wales. In this detail of manners, the author has given little more than a simple transcript of Giraldus, with scarcely any variations of his own; under the idea that such delineations, struck off by the pencil of a contemporary, would appear more pleasing in their original colours, and native simplicity.

² Howel Dha's Laws.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

If the king granted a licence to build a church in any village whose inhabitants were villains, to which a cemetery was assigned; and priests were appointed to celebrate mass, the village from that time became free.* The hermits and other *Ascetics* in this country, were in a peculiar degree austere in the habits of mortification; and, according to Giraldus, were more spiritualised in their piety than the Religious of any other nation. The same writer sums up the character of his countrymen, in a manner equally peculiar and decisive. He says, that as it was the disposition of that people to pursue every object with vehemence, none were elsewhere to be found so bad as the worst, nor any better than the good among the Welsh.†

It was natural that a warlike people would employ their leisure, during the short intervals of peace, in the habits of domestic festivity, or in the pleasures of the field. A variety of exercises, some more violent, others more gentle in their nature, were in common use among the Welsh. Of these, many of which were the more peculiar diversions of men, were feats of strength; namely, pitching a bar of iron, throwing a sledge, a large stone or quoits, running, leaping, swimming, wrestling, riding, archery and throwing the javelin; fencing with sword and buckler, the two handed sword, and playing with the quarter staff. There were several other diversions considered as rural sports, and as less manly; such as hunting, fishing, and bird hunting; besides which, sundry others were used in families as private amusements,

* Howel Dha's Laws.

† Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 275.

and considered as literary; such as poetry, playing on the harp, reading Welsh, singing poems accompanied by stringed instruments; singing an ode of four parts, and accenting it with proper expression; heraldry, and embassy. Other amusements were in use of a more sedate kind, which employed their more tranquil hours; chess, draughts and back-gammon, or some similar game; dice, and tuning the harp. Besides these, there were various modes of hunting, distinguished in the following manner. Hunting the stag, pursuing a swarm of bees, and taking salmon; these three were deemed common diversions. Hunting the bear, the squirrel, or martin, and the cock of the wood,¹ were called barking diversions. Hunting the fox, the hare, and the roebuck,² were distinguished as clamorous ones. The stag was hunted with hounds and greyhounds; and this was called a common diversion, because every person who was at his death had a right to a share. Even if a man on his journey happened to pass by at the time that the stag was killed, he was entitled by the game laws to a share in common with those who had hunted him down. A swarm of bees was likewise considered as a common property; for whoever found them on his own, or on other people's land, unless he put a mark that he had first found them, every person who passed by had a right to enjoy a share; but a fourth part belonged to the proprietor of the ground. The salmon were also considered in the same light. For when they were caught with a net, or struck with a spear, or taken in any other way; what-

¹ See Mr. Pennant's journey to Snowdun.

² Iwrch or roebuck, said to have been formerly in Wales. See Richard's Welsh Dictionary on that word; and Gibson's notes on Camden, p. 645.

ever person should come to the place, before a division was made, was entitled to a part, provided the salmon was taken out of a common water.

HUNTING the bear was called a barking diversion, because from its slowness the hunting of it could be of no long continuance; as it was only baited, barked at, and killed. The martin,^{*} fitchet, polecat,^{*} and squirrel, not being able to run far, climbed up into trees; and in that situation were barked at and baited by the dogs. Hunting the cock of the wood[†] was entirely similar.

Fox hunting was called a clamorous diversion; as in the pursuit of this animal there was much crying of the dogs, and blowing of the horn. Of the same nature were the diversions of roebuck and hare hunting.

THE game that was most in esteem for the use of the table, was the stag, the hare, the wild boar, and the bear. If greyhounds were let loose after a stag or any other animal, and the dogs pursued him out of sight, and he was afterwards killed; then the foremost greyhound in the last view was entitled to the skin. If a man, or a dog, started a hare out of her seat and killed her, she was the property of either the one or the other.

It was necessary that every person who carried a horn should be acquainted with the nine game laws. If he was unable to

^{*} Bela.

^{*} Cāthgoed.

[†] See Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdon.

give an account of them, he forfeited his horn. Whoever went out a hunting with couples, forfeited those likewise, if he was found deficient in a knowledge of the said laws; but, whimsically enough, the couples were safe, if placed on his arm. No person could let loose a greyhound after any animal, which the hounds were then hunting, unless he himself had hounds that were hunting at the same time; and on any person so offending, the man who was pursuing the hare, might hamstring the greyhound. No one was allowed to shoot a beast, when at rest, that was appropriated for the chase, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrows to the lord of the manor; though he might shoot at and kill any such, if he could, when the dogs were in full cry; but he was not allowed to shoot among the dogs. If any person went out to hunt, and let his dogs loose after the beast; and it so happened that he was met with and killed by some straggling dogs, the animal was then the property of the first dogs, unless the straggling ones belonged to the king. Any beast which had been hunted, became the property of the first hunter, unless his face was turned towards home, and his back on the dogs. If his dogs were still hunting, and the hunter had left them, the animal did not in that case belong to him, if killed by straggling dogs, but to the owner of the latter.'

SOME light may be thrown on the ancient administration of Wales, by laying open the various conditions, on which the Welsh

† See an account of the Welsh games, printed at the end of Dr. Davies's Dictionary. He died in the year 1644; he was himself a native of Wales, and was much esteemed by his countrymen, for his knowledge of its language and antiquities.

held their estates under their princes, or immediate lords; and by shewing in what manner the revenue, arising from those tenures, was directed to the splendour, or support of their government.

We shall begin, by marking the smaller divisions, which at that time, it is probable, had taken place in the country. In the lesser divisions, Wales might have been originally divided into *Bôds*, *Treus*, and *Caers*. The *Bôd* is supposed to have been the mansion-house of a chieftain on his first settlement in the country; the lands which he assigned for the maintenance of his dependents in the increasing colony to have been called a *Trev*; and the inclosure of such lands, for defence or convenience, whether formed of wood or stone, might have been denominated a *Caer*.^a An assemblage of several *bôds* formed a *trev* or township; a hundred of these *treus* constituted a *cantrev*. For the more easy and regular dispatch of business, a *cantrev* was divided into two or more *commots*; each of which, consisting of a certain number of *bôds* and *treus*, formed a distinct precinct; and was considered as a lordship, possessing a separate court and jurisdiction.^a

THE Welsh princes, and other lords of particular territories, were the proprietors *in capite* of all lands; and were sovereign lords of all their subjects and bondmen. To these, the princes or the lords distributed townships, or particular tenures called *Weles*, seats or dwellings; by way of martial distribution, on such conditions as those lords and princes thought proper to im-

^a Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 28, 29, 31.

^a Ibid. p. 116.

pose. The lands or tenures so granted, were either freeholds or villanage; and the persons to whom they were given were called freeholders or vassals; each were equally tenants to their lord; though in respect of privileges originally granted, they were in possession of different degrees of freedom or vassalage. Some of these were entirely free, and others were entirely bond; some townships in part were free, and in part were bond. In these several townships, a greater or less degree of freedom prevailed, or none at all; the tenants of the first kind of vassalage were called *nativi liberi*; that is, free natives, or the better sort of vassals; and the others were considered as *puri nativi*, or perfect slaves.

THOSE lands or townships which were entirely free, gave to the possessors a rank above other tenants; qualified them for offices and employments, and entitled them likewise to a seat and a voice in courts of judicature. From this privilege of sitting higher than the other tenants in their *Gorseddau*, and of assisting in giving sentence, and passing judicial decrees, the tenants of these freeholds were called *Uchelwyr*. The king excepted, there was an equality among all the Welsh nobility.

THE tenants of bond lands, and villages, being inferior to freeholders, were bound to servile employments; and in many things were at the disposal of their princes or lords. A lord had the privilege of parting with his vassal either by sale or donation. There was, however, a distinction in point of privilege between

such tenants. The free natives were those who possessed some degree of freedom ; who might go where they pleased, might buy and sell, and enjoyed many other immunities. The pure natives were considered as the entire property of their princes or lords ; were sold along with the estate, and confined within its limits ; out of which, if they happened to wander, they were liable to be driven back like wild beasts with great severity.¹ The profession of any of the mechanic or liberal arts made a vassal free ; but no vassal could acquire them without the permission of his lord.²

THE *treus* were not all of equal dimension ; some were of a larger and others of a lesser extent ; but they were all subject to certain conditions to be paid to their lords, which were rated and fixed at the first disposal of those tenures. These were rents, services, duties, mulcts, and attendances. Such were their great sources of revenue and of power ; and from which the Welsh princes were enabled to support their dignity, to secure the loyalty of their subjects, and afford protection to the state.³

THE rents of some tenures were paid in money, those of others were paid in goods and in cattle. Rents in money were fixed to be paid, either at the four quarterly payments, or the two half yearly ones ; or they arose out of casualties ; such as reliefs and heriots. The rents which were paid in goods and cattle, were a certain quantity of corn, paid at stated times, or a certain number of oxen and cows ; which many *treus* were obliged to

¹ Rowland, p. 120, 121.

² Howell Dha's Laws.

³ Rowland, p. 121.

pay at the end of the year. The *Tunc* rent, was a sum of money payable by four villain townships in every *commot*, of five shillings a year cessable on particular *treus*. Rents of some kind or other were originally fixed to be cessable on all tenures whether free or bond, similar to the English soccage tenures.

THE freeholder had a legal right in the property of his land, on the performance of the stipulated conditions ; but that right might be forfeited, in certain cases, to the prince or lord of the fee.

THE villains or vassals, who were the tenants of the villanages, had no property in the lands assigned them ; but enjoyed only the occupancy and possession of them during the pleasure of the prince or lord ; they being considered only as slaves, to be placed in any situation at the will of their masters. They paid however a rent to their lord ; and those rents which were charged on villain tenures were precise and stated ; and payable, as the rents of freeholds were, on certain and fixed days.*

THE nature of those services, which the several *treus*, or the particular tenures in every manor, were obliged to perform, is here attempted to be explained. In general, the prince had a *Llys* or palace in every *cantrev* ; a chapel likewise, with the necessary appendages of mills, offices, and other conveniencies. In support of these, the services of tenants in the *cantrev* where the palace was built, were appropriated in various ways ; and the lands belonging to the palace were parcelled out to tenants, on

* Rowland's Mona, p. 122, 123.

the conditions of performing such private and domestic services. Those tenants were called in many places *Gwyr Mael*, *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, and *Gwyr Gwaith*. The service under the title of *Gwyr Mael*, is supposed to have been the prince's local guard; who were obliged to arm themselves, and to keep watch and ward about the palace. The service bearing the name of *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, was to cultivate the corn lands, reserved by the prince in every manor for his corn provision. The duty implied by *Gwyr Gwaith*, was an obligation on particular tenants of working for the prince at their own charge. The remaining tenants were obliged to repair the walls of the palace, or the hall, the chapel, or other appendages of the prince's house. In every *cantref*, there were some tenants bound by their tenures to carry stones, or corn; to repair the roof of a mill, the walls, and the water-course; to carry large stones and pieces of timber for the uses of the mill. Some tenants, also, by their tenures, were obliged to repair weirs, to carry wattles and brush wood, to hedge about warrens, and some to attend the offices of the larder and kitchen.*

THE duties, which were due from other tenants, whether free or bond, to the prince or the lord, were various; and both of a civil and military nature. They were obliged to appear in the court of the prince, whenever they received a summons; which without great peril they could not disobey. They were under obligation to appear in the court of the *cantref* in which they resided. Their appearance was equally necessary in the county court.^a This was their great court of common pleas, and of

* Rowland, p. 124, 125.

^a So Rowland calls it.

high authority : its jurisdiction extended over the whole district. They were obliged to grind their corn at a particular mill, and to pay as a grist-toll the thirtieth part ; which appears to have been very considerable, when it is considered that the repairs of the mill lay entirely upon the tenants. Those who were not concerned in these repairs, were yet obliged to make and to clear the water-courses belonging to it ; besides the different kinds of carriage that were imposed on them, especially the conveyance of corn ; which was for the use, or was the immediate property of the prince.

THE tenants in common were obliged to array, and to follow the prince to war whenever they were summoned for that purpose. This was a general obligation, equally imposed on the nobility and on the people at large. The same duties were likewise due from the tenants of inferior districts to their respective and immediate lords. This obligation of attending their prince or lord in war was not equal upon all ; some tenants were only liable to go for a limited time, and to a limited place ; while others were obliged to give their attendance during the war, without any limitation, equipped and maintained at their own expense. This duty, so indefinite and peremptory, was called *Gwaith Mihwyr* ; and no doubt was a kind of knight's service.*

THERE were five other duties, of a civil nature, incident to particular tenures. The nature of those duties are not certainly known at this distance of time ; but they may perhaps be ex-

* Rowland's Mon. p. 126.

plained in the following manner. The courts of the Welsh princes being ambulatory, removing from manor to manor, and not fixed to any certain place; their houses likewise being insufficient to hold the numerous retinue which usually attended the prince; it is reasonable to suppose, that a suitable provision was every where made for their reception and maintenance. The tenants of that manor, in which the prince came to reside for a certain time, were obliged of course to receive, and to support so many of the prince's officers and servants, as each of them was under the obligation of performing; agreeably to the conditions stipulated in their respective tenures. Such, it is probable, was the duty called *Cylch Stalon*, of entertaining the prince's grooms, and finding provision for so many of his horses, for such a time, and by such tenants of the manor, as were specified in the tenures of each. So, likewise, *Cylch Rbaglon*, was the obligation of entertaining the prince's steward, by such and so many of the tenants as were obliged, each in his turn to receive that officer. *Cylch Hebogyddion*, was another duty of providing for the prince's falconers and his hawks. *Cylch Greorion*, as it was called, was the obligation of entertaining by turns, on each tenant for a limited time, the keepers of the prince's live stock and cattle; such, it is probable, as were designed for slaughter, for the use of the royal household, while the prince resided in the manor. This was afterwards commuted for, by the payment of a certain sum of money, called *Arian Greorion*. The last duty styled *Cylch Dourgon*, was the obligation on certain tenants, by turns, to receive, and provide for the huntsman and his dogs; during the prince's residence, or when he came for the purpose of hunting

in any *trev* or manor. It is probable, that when the prince of Wales did not make his progress among his tenants at the usual times, they paid him, in lieu of such duties, a sum of money, which was called *Arian Gwestva*.¹

THREE species of mulcts were another source of revenue arising to the prince, and incident to particular tenures. *Amwobr* was a mulct of five or ten shillings, payable by particular *treus* and *gavels*, for the incontinency of women.² It was also a fine anciently paid to the prince or lord of the fee, at the marriage of a vassal's daughter.³

Obediw, was a sum of money rated on several *treus*; and payable to the prince or chief lord, as a mortuary for the death of a tenant. This was sometimes called *Obediw Dietifedd*, when a sum of money was payable to the prince or lord, for a tenant dying without issue. *Gwobr*, was a mulct of ten shillings, paid to the prince or lord on the marriage of a vassal's daughter. This is said to be a commutation in lieu of that barbarous custom, that was in use in the times of Paganism; of the right which the lord had of deflouring a virgin on the first night of her marriage with a vassal.⁴

As the lower sorts of people were liable to perform certain services to their prince or lord, so the nobility were bound by

¹ Rowland's Mon. p. 128, 129. Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *gwestva*.

² Rowland, p. 129.

³ Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *amwobr*.

⁴ Rowland, p. 130.

the exprefs conditions of their refpective fees, to pay attendance to their fovereign prince. This attendance was different, according to the feveral occafions of the prince in peace or in war. Thefe lords had likewise under them, freehold and vaffal tenants; over whom they themfelves were lords in fee. Depending on thofe conditions, the nobility had offices and trufts both civil and military conferred upon them; as well as titles that were minifterial and honorary.¹ The family of Hwfa ap Cynddelw, of Prefaddfed in Anglefey, held their eftates in fee; on the condition of attending the prince's coronation, and of bearing up the right fide of the canopy over his head. The bifhop of Bangor, likewise, enjoyed fome advantage, by his peculiar office of crowning the prince, and of being his principal chaplain. In the fame manner, moft of the nobility were bound to particular attendances by the exprefs conditions of their land tenures; befides thofe particular duties which they in general were obliged to perform as fubjects by homage and fealty. When properly fummoned, if the nobility neglected to perform thefe conditions, their eftates were liable to forfeiture, and their perfons to be banifhed the realm. This mode of punifhment, by banifhing the offender, was moft commonly ufed by the Welch princes.²

THERE were many tenures in Wales,³ which were held of neither prince nor lord; but under certain faints, or patrons of

¹ Rowland, p. 130.

² Rowland's Mon. p. 131.

³ Thefe notices of the feveral divifions of the country are taken from the reports given in upon oath by thofe men, who were appointed by Edward the Firft for afcertaining the princes rights, and the tenures in Wales.

churches; the tenants of which lands called themselves abbots. As most of these saints had the privileges of sanctuary originally established in them, it is probable, that one condition of those tenures was, to maintain and support these places of refuge, and the persons protected in them; and likewise to see that their privileges, with other rights thereunto belonging, were from time to time preserved and kept inviolate.*

THE princes of Wales usually wore on their bonnets or helmets a coronet of gold; being a broad lace or headband indented upwards, and set with precious stones.*

FROM the few traits which are here given of the private manners and customs of the ancient Welsh, we may form a lively idea of their genius; and may also discriminate what was peculiar in their national character. Hence, too, we are enabled to account for a variety of splendid actions which strike our wonder; and interest our feelings for the fate of a brave people, who were so often thrown into situations, sudden and rapid in their changes, and which appear to be singular in the history of nations.

* Rowland's Mon. p. 132.

* Welsh Chron. p. 36. The illegitimate children of the princes of Wales were not allowed to bear their father's arms; and if permitted, yet not without carrying on them some marks of peculiarity. Brit. Ant. revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 31.

THERE was something in the SAXON character, so little susceptible of those impressions which polish and humanize the rudest natures, that even at this period they retained their native barbarism. And as the Welsh, confined in narrow limits, were scarcely considered as objects of fear, the Saxon princes turned their arms against each other;¹ giving their enemies the vindictive consolation of seeing the miseries of war retaliated on themselves. These calamities were likewise increased by the Danes; who began, about this time, to infest the coasts of Britain.² And the Welsh, no doubt, would have seen with pleasure the effects of a storm, beginning to burst upon the heads of their enemies, if they themselves had not been equally liable to the danger. But as a means of security, warned by the fatal remissness of the Saxons, they with great secrecy and diligence increased their naval force; reasonably expecting by such a force to repel the Danish invasions; or, it is probable, in case of necessity they might hope to secure a retreat.³

A. D.
801.

In the course of their incursions the city of St. David was laid in ashes by the Saxons; and that event was preceded by an eclipse of the sun and moon; a terrible distemper likewise seized upon cattle;⁴ and the next year the city of Diganwy was destroyed by lightning.⁵ These incidents, arising from natural causes, were marked by superstition as prefages of national ca-

A. D.
808.

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13.

² Verstegan, chap. VI. p. 155. Welsh Chron. p. 20. Saxon Chron. p. 64.

³ Berkeley's Naval Hist. p. 61.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 21.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 66.

lamity. From this time,¹ Diganwy ceased to be the residence of the kings of North Wales.

IN right of that equal distribution of property which took place in Wales by the custom of gavel kind, Howel, the younger son of the late king Roderic Moelwynoc, laid claim to the island of Mona, as his part of his father's inheritance. This claim was disputed by Cynan Tindaethwy, the reigning prince, and his eldest brother; and each side prepared to put it to the decision of arms; but a victory, soon after gained by Howel, gave him the possession of the island. The two princes, the one eager to maintain his patrimony, and the other to recover the territory which had been torn from him, opposed each other a second time; but with the same event, the battle ending in favour of Howel.² Enraged at these defeats, Cynan Tindaethwy was determined, by a vigorous effort, at every hazard of his crown and his life, to recover the island and the reputation of his arms. In pursuance of this resolution, he raised an army and marched against his brother; but Howel, seeing himself unable to oppose a force superior to his own, withdrew from the conflict, and escaped to the island of Man; leaving Mona in the possession of the conqueror.³

A. D.
817.

CYNAN TINDAETHWY did not long enjoy the fruits of his good fortune; for he died soon after, and left the kingdom of North Wales to Efyllt his daughter; married to Mervyn Vrych,

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 67.

² Welsh Chron. p. 21, 22.

³ Ibid. p. 22.

the king of Man, and a descendant, by the maternal line, from the house of Powys.¹

ON the death of the late prince, Mervyn Vrych and Epyllt succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales;² annexing the Island of Man to their other dominions.³

IN the early part of their reign,⁴ Egbert king of the West Saxons invaded Wales with a powerful army; desolated the country as far as the mountains of Snowdon,⁵ and seized on the lordship of Rhyvonioc.⁶ He then advanced to Mona, and took possession of that island, having fought a bloody battle with the Welsh at Llanvaes near Beaumaris;⁷ and though the island was soon recovered by king Mervyn, and the Saxons were driven out, it lost at this period the ancient name of Mona; and was afterwards by the English called Anglesey, or the Englishmen's Isle.⁸ This formidable inroad was no sooner over, as if the Welsh were to enjoy no interval of peace, than Kenulph, king of Mercia, in two successive inroads, committed great devastation in West Wales and in Powys.⁹

A. D.
819.

THE valour and the policy of Egbert, at this period, had united the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom.¹⁰ And such

A. D.
828.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 22. ² Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188. ³ Ibid. p. 173.

⁴ Matth. Westm. p. 224, 227, recites three different invasions of Wales by Egbert, in which he subdued that country, and made its kings tributary, A. D. 810, 811, 830.

⁵ *Yryi* in the Welsh, signifying mountains of snow. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65.

⁶ Welsh Chron. p. 24, 25. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172, 173.

⁹ Chron. of Wales, p. 25. ¹⁰ Fabian, p. 184. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172.

an union, under a vigorous administration, might have proved fatal to the Welsh; if the attention of the Saxon prince had not been diverted from foreign conquests to the security of his own territories. To consolidate more closely the various parts of his dominions, he gave to the whole of his new kingdom the common name of England;¹ and at this juncture, every species of union was necessary to oppose the formidable and increasing invasions of the Danes. A large body of these people landed about this time in West Wales;² and such was the animosity of the Welsh, and such the wretched alternative left them, that they united with the Danes in a common interest, as the less and more distant evil, to wreak their vengeance upon the Saxons, and to establish the Danish power on the ruin of more immediate and hereditary enemies.

A. D.
833.

THE Welsh, in consequence of this alliance, joined their forces with the Danes; and after having ravaged a great part of his dominions, and destroyed many of his castles and fortified towns, they fought a severe battle with the Saxon prince upon Hengist Down; but in this action, they sustained a terrible defeat, with the slaughter of a great part of their army.³ Incensed at this invasion, and alarmed at the consequence of such alliances in future, Egbert made war upon the Welsh, and invested the city of Chester; determined that they should feel the

A. D.
835.

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 13. Verstegan, c. V. p. 125.

² Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Chron. of Wales, p. 27.

³ Saxon Chron. p. 72. Matth. Westm. p. 227.

utmost effects of his resentment and power. This city had hitherto remained in the possession of the Welsh,¹ and was regarded as an important post upon the frontier. It was taken at this time by Egbert.² Among other marks of his indignation against the very memory of the Britons, he gave orders that the brazen statue of Cadwallon should be taken down and defaced;³ he likewise issued a proclamation, that all the men, with their wives and children, who were descended from British blood, should depart his territories in six months, on pain of death;⁴ and to add injury to insult, he made another law, as savage as it was unavailing; which affixed the penalty of death to every Welshman, who passed the limits of Offa's Dyke, and should be taken on the English borders.⁵ More coercive restraints were necessary than such a feeble barrier and futile law, though the hand of power had drawn an arbitrary line, which insulted the feelings, and entrenched on the rights of a warlike and irascible people.

THIS Saxon prince died soon after the siege of Chester; and his death probably suspended for several ages the destiny of Wales. A. D. 838.

A SHORT cessation of the Danish inroads gave leisure to Berthred, the tributary sovereign of Mercia, to renew hostilities

¹ Chron. of Wales, p. 27.

² Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Fabian, p. 184.

³ Stowe's Chron. p. 77.

⁴ Chron. Wales, p. 27, from Ranulph Cest.

⁵ Speed's Chron. p. 318, from Joa. Beverlensis.

against the Welsh;¹ and a severe battle was fought by the two princes, at a place called Kettel, upon the frontiers; in which Mervyn, the king of North Wales was slain; who left his eldest son, named Roderic, to succeed to his dignity.²

A. D.
843.

THE prospect now opens under a new point of view; the memorable reign of Roderic. This young prince succeeded to his father's throne with a greater extent of territory than had fallen to the share of any Cambrian sovereign.—He enjoyed, by the right of his father and mother, the sovereignty of the Island of Man, with the territories of North Wales and Powys; and having married Angharad the heiress of South Wales, of course the whole province of Cambria centered in his person.³ The firmness resulting from this union, the nature of the country and valour of the inhabitants, their inveteracy against the Saxons, and the perilous situation of that people, were important advantages which opened with the reign of Roderic. If this fortunate combination of circumstances had been directed agreeably to a wise policy, it would probably have secured the independency of Wales; and have fixed its government upon a basis so solid and permanent, that it might have sustained the storms of ages; and have fallen at length amidst the ruins of time, unless undermined by the refinements and luxury, of a bordering, a more civilized and powerful people.

¹ Saxon Chron. p. 75.

² Welsh Chron. p. 27, 28.

³ Rowland, p. 173, 188. Welsh Chron. p. 35.

INSTEAD of taking advantage of this fortunate conjuncture, a crisis which will never more return in the annals of Wales, a fatal and irreparable measure took place. For Roderic, early in his reign, divided his dominions into three Principalities; which during his life, were governed by chieftains acting under his authority; and this singular event seems to have arisen from the narrow idea, that the Welsh, accustomed to be ruled by their native princes, ought not to yield obedience to a common sovereign.¹

THE death of Mervyn Vrych, and the late victory obtained over the Welsh, flattered Berthred the Mercian prince, with the hopes of farther success from the youth and inexperience of Roderic. Agreeable to this design, and strengthened by the aid of Ethulwulph, the king of England, he entered North Wales with a powerful army,² and advanced as far as Anglesey; which he laid waste in a cruel manner.³ The young prince Roderic, on this trying occasion, neglected no exertion, which was due to his own honour and to the defence of his country. By the spirited resistance he made, the king of Mercia was prevented from making any great progress in the island: and soon after, fortunately for the Welsh, the attention of that prince was employed in the protection of his own dominions from the power of the Danes.⁴ The inroads of these people increasing every day,

A. D.
846.

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174.

² Sim. Dunelm. p. 120, 139. Hist. Angl. Script. Matth. Westm. p. 231.

³ Chron. Wales, p. 35.

Simon Dunelm. Ann. 874. Saxon Chron. p. 82. Chron. of Wales, p. 31.

the English, fully employed in attending to their own safety, left the Welsh to enjoy many years a season of unusual tranquility.

If Roderic had possessed the qualities of a truly great prince, he would at least, at this fortunate period, have attempted to provide against future evils; and the nature of his country, intersected by rivers and fortified with mountains, and almost surrounded by the ocean, might have pointed out the rational means of defence. Had this prince made a proper use of the leisure which the troubles in England had given him, he would have placed garrisons in the frontier towns, would have collected magazines, and fortified the passes; and he would have exerted his utmost ability, to secure his country from foreign invaders, by forming a naval power; he would, also, have endeavoured to reduce his subjects to a just subordination, by promoting among them a spirit of union, and a steady obedience to the laws. Instead of these regulations, that period seems to have been distinguished by a total neglect of every measure, which, if steadily pursued, might have given security to his kingdom.

A. D.
872.

At this time Alfred had ascended the throne of England.¹ Engaged through his reign, in affairs of war or legislation, or in introducing into his kingdom learning and the arts, this prince filled every department in the state, and those appertaining to science, with men of the greatest abilities.² Having founded the university of Oxford, he invited out of Wales two persons

¹ William Malmſbury, lib. II. cap. IV. p. 42.

² Polydore Virgil, lib. V. p. 106.

distinguished for their learning; John, surnamed Scotus, and Asser, who had been educated in the college of St. David; the former of whom he appointed a professor in the university he had lately established.¹ And, taught by experience the impolicy of contending with the Danes by land, and the necessity of establishing such a navy as might enable him to oppose them at sea, he engaged in his service many Welshmen acquainted with the art of ship-building; whom he appointed superintendants of the dock yards, and afterwards employed in honourable stations in the fleet.²

THE Danes, having received a repulse in England, and being by treaty obliged to relinquish that country, made a descent on the island of Anglesey; where in two battles they met with a very spirited opposition from Roderic; one of which was fought at Bangor, and the other at Menegid. At the same time, South Wales was invaded by another body of Danes, who desolated that country, and laid the churches and religious houses in ruins.³

A. D.
873.

ABOUT this time Roderic changed the royal residence from Caer Segont⁴ to Aberffraw in Anglesey.⁵ It is strange, that he should desert a country where every mountain was a natural fortress, and in times of such difficulty and danger, should make choice of a residence so exposed and defenceless.

¹ Chron. of Wales, p. 33.

² Berkeley's Naval Hist. Brit. p. 69.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 34.

⁴ Near the present town of Caernarvon.

⁵ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 173.

AN interval of quiet from the Danes, gave the English another opportunity of making a descent on the island of Anglesey; which they invaded with a formidable army. The Welsh king, opposing them with his usual gallantry of spirit, at length fell in the defence of his country; being slain with Gwyriad his brother, in one of the battles which he fought with the English in the course of that expedition.¹

A. D.
877.

It has been already observed, that the late prince, in the course of his reign, had divided his dominions into three distinct sovereignties; which he left to his sons Anarawd, Cadell, and Mervyn.² But, agreeably to the spirit and custom of gavel-kind, though each sovereign possessed a distinct authority within his own dominions; yet a pre-eminency over the other princes was established in the kings of North Wales.³ He ordained that the princes of South Wales and Powys should each of them pay yearly to the sovereign of North Wales, a tribute⁴ called *Maelged*, of sixty-three pounds, as a mark of subordination;⁵ but the royal tribute, or *Teyrnged*, which was due from Cambria to the imperial crown of London, agreeably to the ancient laws, was ordained in future to be paid by the kings of North Wales.⁶ Regarding likewise

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 35.

² Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174.

³ British Antiquities Revived, by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 8, 25, 40. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174, 175. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 64, 65.

⁴ These tributes, according to Vaughan of Hengwrt in Brit. Ant. Reviv. p. 39, 40, were paid in the following manner. The kings of North Wales were to pay £63 to the crown of London; the princes of Powys four tons of flour; and the princes of South Wales four tons of honey to the sovereigns of North Wales.

⁵ H. Lhuyd, p. 64, 65. Rowland, p. 175.

⁶ Ibid.

his

his eldest son Anarawd as the immediate heir of the *Cynethian* line, he left to him and to his successors, the title of *Brenhin Cymru Oll*, or the king of all Wales.*

To cement more closely in a common interest his sons and their successors; he enjoined, that if any two of these princes should happen to differ about their particular interests, in such case the third should interfere, and should finally arbitrate the matter.† It was ordained, that if any difference should arise between the princes of North and South Wales, they should all meet at Bwlch-y-Pawl, in the present county of Montgomery, and the prince of Powys was appointed the umpire. If the princes of North Wales and Powys should be at variance, they were all to assemble at Morva-Rhianedd on the banks of the Dee, and the prince of South Wales was to determine the controversy. If the dispute should arise between the princes of Powys and South Wales, the meeting was appointed to be held at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, and the matter in contention was to be decided by the king of North Wales.‡ Roderic must have been little acquainted with human nature, to imagine that such regulations were sufficient to counteract, at a distant period, the wild passions and ambition of princes.

OTHER institutions better marked the strength and liberality of his mind. He ordained, that if their separate territories should be invaded by a foreign enemy, the three Welsh princes were in that case to assist, and to afford mutual protection to each other: that castles and other strong holds should be fortified and

* Rowland, p. 174, 175.

† Ibid p. 175.

‡ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 35.

kept.

kept in repair : that the churches and religious houses should be rebuilt and adorned : that the British history should be faithfully transcribed and enlarged : and that the archives of Britain, the monuments of her glory, should be carefully deposited in the monasteries of Wales.'

FROM such attentions as these, or perhaps from a comparison with the other Welsh princes in extent of dominion, and in personal ability, Roderic hath gained from posterity the surname of *Great*. If to produce the wealth and grandeur, the security and happiness of a state, be the means of obtaining such a title ; then, surely, the conduct of this prince gave him little claim to that honourable distinction. Instead of acting up to the great design of government, Roderic, without precedent to palliate, or apparent necessity to enforce such a measure, yielded up the independency of Wales ; enjoining his posterity by a solemn rescript, to pay to the Saxon kings, as a mark of subordination, a yearly tribute ; a tribute, though arising out of ancient laws, that was only due from the *Cambrian* to the *British* princes ; and which, no doubt, became from this period the basis upon which was founded that claim of supremacy ever after asserted by the English. The division which Roderic had made of his dominions, was likewise the source of civil dissensions and national weakness ; and was soon the cause of a decline in patriotism, and of a striking barbarity in manners ; a series of evils, which successively produced the ruin of their different states ; and scarcely ended with the conquest of the Welsh, and after the loss of their political existence.

' Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 35.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN.

THE present æra opens a new prospect of the history of Wales; in which this country, which in the late reign had centered in one sovereign, was divided into three distinct principalities.

ANARAWD, the eldest son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales.¹ This territory was the *Venedotia* of the Romans,² and was by the Britons called Gwynedh.³ The residence of the sovereigns of this district was at Aberffraw in Anglesey; in a palace which had been erected during the life of king Roderic.⁴ The kingdom of North Wales, in the four divisions of Anglesey, Arvon,⁵ Meirionnydh, and Perfeddwlad,⁶ con-

A. D.
877.

¹ Rowland, p. 174.

² Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 36. Rowland, p. 174.

⁵ Signifying, above Mona.

⁶ The inward or middle part. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64—66.

taining.

taining fifteen *cantreus*, subdivided into thirty-eight *commots*;¹ was bounded on the west and north by the Irish sea; on the south west by the river Dyvi, which separated it from South Wales; and on the south and east, was divided from Powys and England by mountains and rivers, particularly by the Dee.² The language spoken in this country is esteemed the most pure, and comes the nearest to that of the ancient Britons. Its inhabitants, from a variety of causes, preserved their independency longer than the other principalities. Besides the valour of the people, and in general the public virtue of their princes, the natural situation of the country of Snowdun, a range of mountains extending from one sea to the other, and guarded by two rivers discharging themselves into the ocean at Traeth Mawr, and Conway, formed a rampart exceedingly strong; over which the Welsh usually retreated when they were pressed by the English arms. The principal defiles likewise which opened through that range of vast mountains were secured by strong fortifications. The castle of Diganwy was placed opposite to the water of Conway, an arm of the sea which opened into the country; that of Caer Rhun was situated at the pass of Bwlch y ddau-vaen, with a fort at Aber; Dolwyddelen castle and a watch tower were placed at Nant Frapkon; Dolbadern castle at Nant Peris; and the fort at Kidom was fixed at Nant tal-y-Llyn. The other pass of Traeth Mawr was guarded by the strong castles of Harlech on one side of the bay, and of Cricieth on the other; with a watch tower at Kefel Gyfarch, and a fort at Dolbenmaen.³ These

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 5—8.

² Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64.

³ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 148.

various fortifications, all of them placed in the most advantageous situations, marked, for a rude age, great military sagacity.

CADELL, the second son of the late prince, succeeded to the sovereignty of South Wales,¹ distinguished by the name of Deheubarth, as lying to the south of the other provinces.² The residence of the princes of this country was at Dinevawr,³ on the banks of the river Towi* in Caermarthenshire; where a palace had been erected by Roderic,⁴ in a situation strongly fortified by woods and mountains; and more convenient, on that account, than their ancient abode at Caermarthen upon the same river; which was probably at this time in the possession of the English.⁵ This district, the *Demetia* of the Romans, was divided into the present counties of Caerdigan, Pembroke, Caermarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecknock; it consisted of twenty-six *cantreus*, subdivided into eighty-one *commots*;⁶ and was encompassed by the Irish sea, by the Severn, and by the rivers Wye and Dyvi.⁷ The continual influx of foreigners into this country hath been the means of debasing the language from its original purity.⁸

A. D.
877.

MERVYN, the youngest son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the principality of Powys.⁹ The residence of the princes of this country was at Mathraval in Montgomeryshire; at which

A. D.
877.

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174.

² Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 64.

³ Dinas Vawr, or the great palace.

* *Tŷvawr*. ⁴ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 34.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79.

⁶ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 16—20.

⁷ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75, 76.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Rowland's Mon. p. 175.

place a palace had been built by the late prince.¹ The principality of Powys, afterwards broken into the divisions of Powys Vadoc, and Powys Wenwynwyn;² had fourteen *cantreus*, subdivided into forty *commots*;³ it was bounded on the north by North Wales, on the east by the country which lies between Chester and Hereford, on the south by England, and on the west by the river Wye, and by mountains which divide it from South Wales.⁴ The fertility and open situation of this country, exposed it to continual invasions; and having more to dread from the arms of the English, than to expect from the regular support of their countrymen, the princes of Powys took an early and frequent part in the interests of England.

EARLY in the reign of Anarawd, that prince had an opportunity of affording to the northern Britons, the like friendly protection, which his ancestors had so often received from their countrymen in Armorica. The remains of the Strath-Clyde Britons, having been harrassed by the Danes, Saxons and Scots; and after severe conflicts with them, having lost Constantine their king in battle; applied to Anarawd for an asylum in his dominions.⁵ This prince agreed to receive them on the only tenure incident to these turbulent ages, which was to obtain and to preserve a settlement by the power of the sword.

UNDER the conduct of Hobart, these Britons came into Wales; and having every motive of resentment and interest to

¹ Rowland's Mon. p. 175.

² Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

³ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 10, 11.

⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 31.

urge them to valour, they easily dispossessed the Saxons of that country which is situated between the Dee and the Conway.'

THESE people remained for a time in quiet possession of their new kingdom, until Eadred the earl of Mercia, mortified with the disgrace his arms had sustained, made preparations to recover the country which had been so easily torn from him.¹ The Britons, having early intelligence of his design, removed their cattle and other valuable effects beyond the river Conway. To support his allies, and to expel from the bosom of his country its hereditary enemies, Anarawd exhibited a spirit and activity suitable to the importance of the occasion; and having encountered the Saxons at Cymryd, about two miles from the town of Conway, by his own gallantry and the bravery of his troops, he gave them an entire defeat. With a pious and honest exultation, the young prince called this memorable action *Dial Rodri*,² expressive of the vengeance he had taken for his father's death.³ Pursuing their victory, the Welsh followed the Saxons into Mercia, laid waste their borders, and returned into their own country loaded with valuable spoils.⁴ Anarawd, agreeably to the piety of those days, and to express his gratitude for the late prosperous event, endowed the collegiate church of Bangor, and that of Clynnoc Vawr in Arvon, with lands and great possessions.⁵ These northern Britons, by an unaccountable and sin-

A. D.
878.

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38. Humf. Lhuyd, p. 31, 32.

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38. ³ Or Roderic's revenge.

⁴ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38. ⁵ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 38.

⁶ Ibid. Camden's Brit. p. 671.

gular policy, were allowed to establish a separate state in the vale of Clwyd, in *Rhos*, and in the conquered country.¹ Part of this country had been called Tegenia by the Romans, Englefeld by the Saxons, and Tegeingl by the Welsh; but being now united with the other territories, the northern Britons gave to their new kingdom the name of Strath-Clwyd;* part of it being situated on the banks of the river Clwyd.¹

A. D.
893.

CIVIL dissension, an evil naturally springing out of the conduct of Roderic, and which soon set aside his futile regulations, had already taken root in the breasts of his sons. For Anarawd, after the late storm was dispersed, probably on account of the tribute not having been paid,⁴ united with the English against his brother the prince of South Wales; and with their joint forces invaded his territory, and laid waste the country of Caerdigan,⁵ and the vale also which borders upon the Wye in Radnorshire.*

A. D.
896.

THE Danes being obliged to flee before the arms of Alfred, made a descent upon the coast of Wales, and advanced into the country as far as Buellt;⁶ and some time after, being again discomfited by that truly great prince, they laid waste the country of Brecknock, and other districts in South Wales.⁷

¹ The country from Conway along the Dee to Chester. * Welsh Chron.

* *Ystrad Clwyd*. † Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69.

‡ British Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 13. § Chron. Wales, p. 41.

* *Ystradgwy*. † Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 41, 42. ‡ Ibid.

A LARGE body of the same people landed again in Anglesey; but this invasion seems only to have been distinguished by a battle fought at Meilon, and by the death of Mervyn the prince of Powys.¹ A. D. 900.

THE fatal policy of Roderic became again conspicuous. Cadell the prince of South Wales, on the death of Mervyn his brother, took possession by force of the principality of Powys; incited by ambition, or the jealousy natural to brothers who enjoy an equal share in their father's dominions and dignity.²

CADELL, the prince of South Wales, dying in this year, was succeeded by his eldest son Howel; who likewise annexed the sovereignty of Powys to his hereditary dignity.³ A. D. 907.

THE city of Chester, which had lain some years in ruins since it had been demolished by the Danes,⁴ was rebuilt and much improved by Elfleda, the wife of the tributary sovereign of Mercia:⁵ she likewise repaired the walls, and enlarged their circuit round the castle, which before this time had been situated without the city.⁶ A. D. 908.

A FEW years after this event, Anarawd, the king of North Wales died, and left two sons, Edwal Voel, and Elis. A. D. 913.

¹ Chron. Wales, p. 42. ² Welsh Chron. p. 35. ³ Welsh Chron. p. 44, 46.

⁴ Saxon Annals, p. 95. ⁵ Math. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 269.

⁶ Brompton's Chron. p. 838. Fabian's Chron. p. 224. Printed at London Ann. Dom. 1559.

A. D. 913. EDWAL VOEL, the eldest son of the late prince, succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales; and was married to the daughter of his uncle Mervyn, the late prince of Powys.¹ Early in his reign the Irish made a descent on the island of Anglesey, which they laid waste in a cruel manner.²

A. D. 933. ATHELSTANE the king of England, having in several victories triumphed over the Danes and Scots, marched with an army into Wales; and at Hereford imposed on the princes of that country a yearly tribute of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in silver, and two thousand five hundred head of cattle; besides a certain number of hawks and hounds.³ This arbitrary tribute was no longer regarded by the Welsh, than while the kings of England had the power of enforcing its observance.

A. D. 940. A WELSH chieftain had been imprisoned in England; and his confinement being resented by Edwal Voel, probably as an insult offered to the independency of his crown, that prince, with his brother Elis, attempted by hostilities to revenge the affront; but in the contest they were both slain, fighting against the English and Danes.⁴ The king of North Wales left six sons, Meyric, Jevaf, Jago, Cynan, Edwal and Rodéric; and

¹ Brit. Ant. Revivd by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 4.

² Welsh Chron. p. 45, 47.

³ Brompton's Chron. p. 838, with respect to the tribute, with the difference only of doubling the number of cattle. Stowe's Chron. p. 82. Welsh Chron. p. 50. Grafton's Chron. p. 149, published Ann. 1569.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 51.

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his brother. Elis a son called Cynan, and a daughter named Trawst.'

THE love of power is an active, and commanding principle in man: to obtain and preserve it, he will employ his utmost sagacity, and bend the full force of his various faculties. Even the wife and temperate mind of Howel, prince of South Wales, was not exempt from its influence. The great esteem into which this prince had arisen from a just administration, had probably gained him, some years before, the sovereignty of Powys; and enabled him, at this time, by the accession of North Wales, to unite into one kingdom the three principalities.² Whether he obtained that dignity, solely, by the efforts of ambition; or was called to it by the voice of the people; or that talents for government, in these disordered times, occasionally set aside the regular course of succession; it is certain, that the sons of the late prince, immediately on their father's death, were superseded by Howel; without any farther opposition on their part, than unavailing murmurs and discontent.³ Whatever were the means by which he attained to the sovereignty of North Wales; his early attention to the common weal, and the mild tenor of his government, will, in some measure, palliate, though it can never vindicate upon any principle of expediency, an act of injustice.

A. D.
940.

To reduce his subjects to a sense of order, and to render them subordinate to civil authority, Howel determined to collect into

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 51. British Antiq. Reviv'd by Vaughan Hengwrt, p. 14.

² Welsh Chron. p. 52.

³ Ibid. p. 52.

one code the ancient customs and laws of Wales; which, in the lapse of ages, and in the confusion and turbulency of the times, had nearly lost their efficacy and weight. In pursuance of this design, he convened the archbishop of St. David, and other bishops and clergy to the number of one hundred and forty, with the principal chieftains of Wales: out of every *commot* were likewise summoned six persons, distinguished by their talents and virtues. This assembly, forming a great national council, met upon the banks of the Tâf, at the white palace belonging to king Howel.* In order to give the meeting greater solemnity, and to implore the Divine Wisdom to influence their counsels, the king himself, with the whole assembly, remained during Lent in the continual exercise of prayer and other acts of devotion. As soon as this solemn preparation was finished, Howel selected twelve persons who were eminent for wisdom, gravity, and experience; and he joined in the commission Blegored, the archdeacon of Llandaff; a person highly distinguished for learning, and a knowledge of the laws. This committee entered into a strict examination of the customs and ancient institutions of Wales. With a judicious and discriminating eye they abolished every law become injurious or unnecessary; those, likewise, which time had rendered confused and unintelligible, were explained with greater perspicuity; and by a proper digest of the whole, a system was framed; which, allowing for limited ideas in jurisprudence, was wisely adapted to the genius, necessities, and situation of the Welsh.†

* Welsh Chron. p. 53.

† Welsh Chron. p. 53.

THIS system was formed on the basis of the ancient national laws.*

AFTER the new code of laws had been read, proclaimed, and ratified by the public approbation; three copies of them were put into writing; one of which was designed for the use of the prince, and to follow his court; and the others were deposited in the palaces of Aberffraw and Dinevawr. This may be considered as a tolerable advance in juridical policy, for that age; when private rights and public laws had been, in a great measure, transmitted by local customs and immemorial tradition. To add still greater authority to the laws, and to stamp them as objects of religious veneration; the archbishop of St. David denounced excommunication on all who should violate them. Influenced, likewise, by the spirit of the age, or desirous of rendering such a ceremony subservient to his views, Howel, attended by the archbishop of St. David, the bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, and thirteen other persons of distinction, proceeded to Rome; where the new system of legislation was solemnly ratified by the Pope; and having thus given the last sanction to his laws, he returned into Wales.†

THE mild temper of this prince seems, in some measure, to have influenced the transactions of his reign; few military incidents having disturbed it during a period of forty years. At this

* Said to have been originally framed by Moelmutius, (*Dyfnwal Moelmud*) who reigned in Britain 441 years before Christ. Holinshed, p. 177.

† Welsh Chron. p. 54.

A. D. 944. time, however, the English, with a considerable force, invaded North Wales; and after they had laid waste the small territory of Strath-Clwyd, returned into their own country.¹

A. D. 948. A FEW years after this event king Howel died; leaving four sons, Owen, Rhun, Roderic, and Edwyr; who, dividing among themselves the principalities of South Wales and Powys, relinquished North Wales to the right heirs, Jeuav and Jago; the sons of Edwal Voel.²

THE death of this amiable prince, who had long enjoyed the mild honours resulting from peace, and the public esteem, spread universally the deepest sorrow. As a grateful memorial of his virtues, posterity have given him the surname of *Dbu*, or the Good. His code of laws is the best eulogium to his memory; and raises him as much above the rest of the Cambrian princes,³ as peace and gentleness of manners, and a regulated state; are preferable to the evils inseparable from war, to the fierceness of uncivilized life, and to the habits of a wild independency.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 58.

² Ibid. p. 58.

³ From this comparison it is the author's meaning to except those British and Cambrian princes who defended their country from the rapacity or ambition of foreign enemies: a conduct than which nothing can be more meritorious, or scarcely any thing have a higher claim on the respect and gratitude of mankind.

THE LAWS of HOWEL DHA were divided into three parts, each of which had a distinct and separate object; the king's prerogatives, with the economy of his court; the affairs of civil jurisprudence; and the criminal law.

THE king possessed, by virtue of his prerogative, the patronage of monasteries; the protection of public roads, the right of creating laws with consent of his people, of coining money within his dominions, and of presiding in the principal causes that related to himself, his crown, and its appendages. He was empowered to lead an army only once a year, and for no longer time than six weeks, out of his kingdom; within his own territories he might at any time muster his subjects and conduct them to battle. He was privileged to hunt in any part of his dominions. He had a power of compelling any of his subjects to build the royal castles.

If any person addressed the king with unbecoming and insolent language, he was constrained to pay a fine of six head of cattle. Offences against the king were, to commit adultery with his queen, to kill his substitute, and violate his protection. The judges were considered as the king's substitutes. The fine for these treasons consisted of a rod of gold of the king's stature, a bull, and a hundred cows, from every *cantrev* or district belonging to the attainted person. For assassinating the king the penalty was made threefold.

THE witness or debtor who followed the sound of the military horn, when the king marched to war, was excused from obedience to a legal summons. At his accession he confirmed the rights of places of asylum; and it was also his prerogative to fix the bounds of *cantreus* and *treus*. He had likewise a power of bringing to immediate trial causes in which the crown was concerned, and of setting aside a written law to make room for a traditional custom. There were species of offences which gave the king the privilege of selling the offenders. The king was not amenable to his own judges.

To moderate these excesses of authority, some limitations were thrown into the opposite scale. If complaint was made that the king, or any of his substitutes, had violated the laws, and exercised oppression; the matter was then to be decided by a verdict of the country; that is, by a jury of fifty men holding land, and sworn to do justice; if the accusation was found to be just, they ordered reparation to be made. The king had no power to punish his subjects for offences committed out of his kingdom, or in the time of his predecessor. Though he had granted to an abbey rights or privileges by which his prerogative was infringed, yet the law ordained that the grant should never be revoked; alledging, that it was more safe to diminish, than to increase the royal power.

THE Welsh, engaged in a roving and military life, had little leisure to exercise the arts, or to cultivate the ground; and of consequence were, in some degree, in a state of poverty. They had
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had many usages, however, which tended to make their princes opulent; and to supply them with the means of displaying that unrestrained hospitality by which their residence was rendered conspicuous.

THE king was the original landlord of the whole of his dominions. The services by which lands were held under him were of three kinds; military service, service in the courts of law, and the payment of the public tribute; which in ancient times was made with horned cattle. When land, by neglecting the service for the performance of which they were granted, or by deserting them without the king's licence, were forfeited, they reverted to him. His subjects were obliged to build the royal palaces, and, in a great measure, they maintained his household; he was entitled to all treasures wherever found; to all goods not claimed by any owner, and the possessions of deceased bishops. Among the various productive sources of revenue, was the sale of honourable and lucrative places; and the escheat of goods exceeding one pound in value; such as horses, oxen, cows, gold, silver, and embroidered garments; escheated goods of inferior price belonged to the royal officers and domestics. According to the ancient division of Wales, settled by its laws, a *cantrev* contained two *commots*; a *commot* twelve manors; a manor four townships. A yearly tribute of one pound was due from every free manor, and was paid to the king in money; or in lieu thereof, a horse load of the best flour, a slaughtered ox, a cask of mead,* one hundred and sixty sheaves of oats for the pro-

* *Medd.*

render of the king's horses, a sow, a fitch of bacon, and a vessel of butter. This tribute was paid in the summer. In winter the royal household was in a great measure supported by the free manors; each of which paid likewise two shillings in money, to be divided among the domestics. Those manors which were not emancipated, but remained in a state of vassalage, paid twice in the year a smaller tribute; consisting of ale, butter, cheese, bread, corn for provender, hogs and sheep. In every *commot* of Wales, two townships remained in the king's private possession, ungranted to any subject. A mayor and a chancellor superintended the royal demesnes; the latter officer had the privilege of being preceded by a virger; he had also the power of imprisonment, and was not liable to be taxed. Shipwrecks and all other things thrown up by the sea upon the shore of the king's personal estates, became his property: when thrown on the territory of a bishop, abbot, or any other lord, the king had also a right to an equal share.

BESIDES these sources of advantage arising to the king; there were many others which were considered as the fruits of his prerogative. He had the escheat of the goods of suicides. Foreigners, who were vagabonds, and who were found in any part of his dominions, were the property of the king. He was the proprietor, likewise, of wastes, forests, and the sea. He had the power of commanding a workman from every town in villanage to erect his tent. The villains of the crown were obliged to build for the king nine apartments of his palace: the hall, the royal bed-chamber, the pantry, the stable, dog kennel, the barn, the kiln, the privy, and the dormitory. Young women were accounted
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among the sources of the king's revenue; and to him a fee was paid on their marriage or violation. A fine was paid to the king on any breach of contract. A toll was also to be paid by every merchant ship which came into the ports of Wales; and if any ship, which had not paid toll, happened to be wrecked, its cargo was forfeited to the king. Vassals, in a state of villanage, were obliged, nine times in the year, to furnish the king's horses and dogs with provender, and his foreigners with provision. They were likewise constrained to yield up all their honey and fish to the use of the court; and to provide horses to carry the baggage and ammunition of the army. A third part of all military plunder was yielded to the crown.

THE QUEEN had a right of patronage, or protection; and received a third part of the revenues of the royal manors. The violation of her person was deemed among the treasonable offences; with the addition of a moiety to the ordinary penalty. A present of money was due to her, when her daughter was married. She had also a power to dispose of a third part of what she had received from the king.

THE HEIR APPARENT was either the son, the brother, the nephew, or cousin of the king: and it was believed that the king's private promise or appointment could secure the succession to either of these kinsmen, without regard to nearness of blood. The laws placed him near the king's person, and under his authority: he sat at the king's table, and was served by the royal attendants. The king, the heir apparent, and the master of the palace.

palace, paid no portion with their daughters : the honour and influence derived from such an alliance was deemed an equivalent. Deformity of person, as well as incapacity of mind, disqualified the king's son or next of kindred from the government; as they did any subject from public offices, and the inheritance of land.

THE OFFICERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD, and twelve gentlemen whose tenures of land were by military service, composed the royal guard; and were mounted upon horses furnished by the king.

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD consisted of the following officers and domestics.

THE MASTER OF THE PALACE. He was sometimes the heir apparent, always of the royal blood. His authority extended to every person of the household; and when any of them fell under the king's displeasure, this officer entertained him until a reconciliation was effected. He received a share of all military plunder; and, on three festivals in the year, was obliged by his office to deliver the harp into the hands of the domestic bard. He was also, it is probable, the king's treasurer.

THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN, was by his office appointed to say grace, to celebrate mass, and to be consulted in matters of conscience. He was also secretary to the king, and to the principal court of justice. In the king's absence, the domestic chaplain, the judge of the palace, and the steward of the household, supported the royal dignity, and exercised the authority annexed to it.

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THE STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD, superintended the inferior domestics; receiving, among other emoluments, the skins of lambs, kids, and fawns; and all other creatures from an ox to an eel, killed for the use of the king's kitchen. He was the king's taster; and drank, but did not eat, at the king's table. He distributed among the officers of the household their wages; he assigned them proper seats in the hall of the palace, and allotted the apartments in which they were to sleep.

THE MASTER OF THE HAWKS, was required to sleep near his birds: he had his bed in the king's granary, where they were kept; and not in the palace, lest they should be injured by the smoke. He was restricted to a certain measure of mead and ale; that he might not neglect his duty. In spring he had the skin of a hind, and in autumn that of a stag, for gloves to guard his hands, and thongs for the gesses of his hawks. The eagle, the crane, the hawk, the falcon, and the raven, were considered as royal birds; when any of these were killed without authority, a fine was paid to the king. The king owed three services to the master of the hawks; on the day when he took a curlew, a hern, or a bittern. He held the horse of this officer while he took the bird; held his stirrup while he mounted and dismounted; and that night honoured him likewise with three different presents. If the king was not in the field, he rose from his seat to receive this officer upon his return; or if he did not rise, he gave him the garment which he wore at the time.

THE JUDGE OF THE PALACE. The court in which this judge presided, was the principal court of Wales. It is said that he always lodged in the hall of the palace; and that the cushion on which the king was seated in the day, served for his pillow at night. On his appointment, he received an ivory chess-board from the king; a gold ring from the queen, and another gold ring from the domestic bard; which he always kept as the insignia of his office. When he entered, or departed out of the palace, the great gate was opened for him; that his dignity might not be degraded by passing under a wicket. He determined the rank and duty of the several officers of the household. He decided poetical contests; and received from the victorious bard, whom he rewarded with a silver chair, the badge of poetical pre-eminence; a gold ring, a drinking horn, and a cushion. If complaint was made to the king, that the judge of the palace had pronounced an unjust sentence, and the accusation was proved; he was then for ever deprived of his office, and condemned to lose his tongue, or pay the usual ransom for that member. The other judges were also subject to these severe but salutary conditions. A person ignorant of the laws, whom the king designed to make his principal judge, was required to reside previously a whole year in the palace; that he might obtain from the other judges, who resorted thither from the country, a competent knowledge of his profession and duty. During this year, the difficult causes which occurred, were stated and referred by him to the king: at the expiration of this term he was to receive the sacrament from the hands of the domestic chaplain, and to swear at the altar that he would never knowingly

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ingly pronounce an unjust sentence, nor ever be influenced by bribes or intreaties, hatred or affection : he was then placed by the king in his seat, and invested with the judicial authority ; and afterwards received presents from the officers of the household. It was reckoned among the remarkable and peculiar customs of the Welsh, that the tongues of all animals slaughtered for the use of the king's household, were given to the judge of the palace.

THE MASTER OF THE HORSE. His lodging was near the royal stables and granary ; and it was his duty to make an equal distribution of provender among the royal horses. From every person on whom the king had bestowed one of his horses, this officer received a present. To him and to his equerries belonged all colts, not two years old ; included in the king's share of spoils taken in war. To him also belonged the riding caps, saddles, bridles, and spurs, which the king had used and laid aside. The spurs, we are told, were of gold, silver, and brass. It was part of his duty, to produce the horse belonging to the judge of the palace, in good condition and in his complete furniture. The judge, in return for this care, instructed him in the nature of his rank and privileges. The extent of his protection was, the distance to which the swiftest horse in the king's stables could run.

THE CHAMBERLAIN, was obliged to eat and sleep in the king's private apartment, which he was appointed to guard. It was his duty to fill, and present to the king, his drinking horn ; and to keep also his plate and rings, for all of which he was

accountable. When the king's bed-furniture and wearing apparel were laid aside, they were given to the chamberlain. If a person, walking in the king's chamber at night, without a light in his hand, happened to be slain, the laws gave no compensation for his death.

THE DOMESTIC BARD, was considered as next in rank to the chief Bard of Wales. He was obliged, at the queen's command, to sing in her own chamber, three different pieces of poetry set to music; but in a low voice, that the court might not be disturbed in the hall. At his appointment he received a harp from the king, and a gold ring from the queen. On three great festivals in the year, he received and wore the garments of the steward of the household; and at those entertainments sat next to the master of the palace. He accompanied the army when they marched into the enemy's country; and when they prepared for battle, he sung before them an ancient poem called *Unbenniaeth Prydain*, or the Monarchy of Britain; and for this service was rewarded with the most valuable beast of the plunder which they had taken in these incursions.

AN OFFICER TO COMMAND SILENCE. This he performed first by his voice, and afterwards by striking with his rod of office a pillar near which the domestic chaplain usually sat: and to him a fine was due for every disturbance in the court. He took charge of the implements of husbandry, and of the flocks and herds belonging to the king's demesnes, in the absence

sence of the bailiff, or during the vacancy of his place. He was also a collector of the royal revenues.

THE MASTER OF THE HOUNDS. In the hunting season he was entertained, together with his servants and dogs, by those tenants who held land in villanage. Hinds were hunted from the middle of February to midsummer; and stags from that time to the middle of October. From the ninth day of November to the end of that month, this officer hunted the wild boar. On the first day of November, he brought his hounds and all his hunting apparatus for the king's inspection: and then the skins of the animals he had killed in the preceding season were divided, according to a settled proportion, between the king, himself, and his attendants. A little before Christmas he returned to the court, to support his rank and enjoy his privileges. During his residence at the palace he was lodged in the kiln-house, where corn was prepared by fire for the dogs. His bugle was the horn of an ox, valued at one pound. Whenever his oath was required, he swore by his horn, hounds, and leashes. Early in the morning, before he put on his boots, and then only, he was liable to be cited to appear before a court of judicature. The master of the hounds, or any other person who shared with the king, had a right to divide, and the king to choose. It was his duty to accompany the army on its march with his horn; and to sound the alarm, and the signal of battle. His protection extended to any distance which the sound of his horn could reach. The laws declared, that the beaver, the martin, and the stoat were the king's property wherever killed;

killed; and that with the furry skins of these animals his robes were to be bordered. The legal price of a beaver's skin was stated at ten shillings.¹

THE MEAD-BREWER. This liquor, which was the wine commonly used by the Welsh, was made with honey mixed in a vat with boiling water, and spiced. The wax separated by this process from the honey, was partly given to the mead-brewer, and partly applied to the uses of the hall, which was the refectory of the palace; and to those of the queen's dining apartment.

THE PHYSICIAN OF THE HOUSEHOLD, was also a practitioner of surgery. In slight cases he cured the king's domestics without a fee. When he healed a common wound, he claimed the torn and bloody garments of the wounded person. When the brain was laid open, the bowels in sight; or a thigh, leg, or arm was fractured; he received one pound for the cure. He was entitled to a bond from the family of his patient; by which he was indemnified, if death should ensue: if he did not take this precaution, and the patient happened to die, he was liable to a legal prosecution. He always attended the army on its march.

THE CUP-BEARER, had charge of the mead-cellar, and filled and presented the drinking-horns.

¹ Lord Lyttelton, surely, was not apprised of the testimony of Howel's laws, when he ridiculed Giraldus's account of beavers in Wales as fabulous.

THE DOOR-KEEPER, whose duty it was to carry messages to the king and his court. His station and lodging was the gate-house. He was required to know personally all the officers of the household, that he might not refuse admittance to any of them; which refusal was considered and punished as a violation of privilege. If he deserted his post, and happened to receive any insult, he could obtain no compensation. He cleared the way before the king; and with his rod kept off the crowd. He preserved the hall of the palace free from intruders; and did not sit, but kneel in the king's presence. The door-keeper of the palace, and the door-keeper of the royal chamber, lodged with the gate-keeper in the gate-house.

THE COOK, to whose office appertained the skins of all animals slaughtered for the use of the kitchen. He always carried the last dish out of the kitchen, and placed it before the king; who immediately rewarded him with meat and drink.

THE SCENCE-BEARER, who held wax tapers when the king sat in the hall, and carried them before him when he retired to his chamber.

THE STEWARD TO THE QUEEN; this officer was also her taster. He superintended her domestics, and was entertained at her table.

THE QUEEN'S CHAPLAIN, who was also her secretary; and received a fee for every grant or instrument which bore her seal.

feal. He was also entertained in her dining apartment, and sat opposite to her at table. He was entitled by his office to the penitential robes which the queen wore during lent. He lodged together with the king's chaplain, in the sacristan's house.

THE MASTER OF THE HORSE TO THE QUEEN, was in several respects upon the same footing with the king's officer of the same name.

THE QUEEN'S CHAMBERLAIN, transacted every business between her apartment and the hall of the palace, and kept her wardrobe. His lodging was near the royal chamber, that he might be in readiness whenever he was wanted.

THE WOMAN OF THE QUEEN'S CHAMBER, whose office it was to sleep so near her mistress, as to be able to hear her speak though in a whisper. She was entitled to the queen's linen, hairlaces, shoes, bridles, and saddles, when they were laid aside.

THE DOOR-KEEPER to the queen, lodged in the gate-house.

THE QUEEN'S COOK.

THE QUEEN'S SCONCE-BEARER.

THE GROOM OF THE REIN; who, when the master of the horse was absent, supplied his place. He led the king's horse to and from the stables, brought out his arms, held his stirrup when he mounted or dismounted, and ran by his side as his page.

AN

AN OFFICER TO SUPPORT THE KING'S FEET AT BANQUETS: he was the foot-stool of his throne, and the guard of his person. There was one in every *cantrev*.

THE BAILIFF of the king's demesne. It was his province to judge and to punish the king's private vassals; and to him their heriots and amercements were paid. The servants of the chancellor and the officers of the revenue drove into his custody the tribute-cattle; and by him the king's household was supplied with provision.

THE APPARITOR, as an officer of the household, stood between the two pillars in the hall; and had the charge of the palace during entertainments, that it might not suffer any damage by fire or otherwise. He appeared likewise in another capacity; conveying the summonses and citations of the principal court of justice. He carried a wand as the badge of his office; and claimed entertainment at every house to which he was sent: when the judges were sitting, it was the apparitor's duty to silence, or take into custody, those offenders who disturbed the court.

THE GATE-KEEPER claimed by custom a share of several things carried through the gate-house to the palace. State prisoners were committed to his custody. He acted as apparitor in the king's demesnes. He provided straw for the beds and other uses of the royal household; and he took care that the fires were lighted.

THE WATCHMAN of the palace was an officer who guarded the king's person while he slept. To him were given, as symbols of his duty, the eyes of all animals slaughtered for the use of the palace kitchen. When the king, and the officers of the household retired to sleep, a horn was sounded; which was a signal to the watch-man to go upon duty. In the morning, when the palace gate was opened, he was relieved. From that time, until the horn was sounded again at night, he was permitted to sleep; and was under no necessity of performing any other service, unless he voluntarily undertook it for a reward. If he was found negligent or asleep during his watch, he was subject to heavy punishments.

THE WOOD-MAN procured fuel for the uses of the household. He also slaughtered the cattle for the royal kitchen with his axe.

THE BAKER-WOMAN.

THE PALACE-SMITH was obliged to work for the household without any reward; except when he made a boiling pot, the point of a spear, the wood-man's axe, the iron work of the gate of the palace, or royal castle, and the iron work of the mill. It was his duty to strike off the shackles of prisoners released by the court of justice; and he received a fee for that service. No other smith was allowed to exercise his trade in the same *commot* with the palace-smith, without his permission.

THE LAUNDRESS.

THE CHIEF MUSICIAN was chosen into and seated in the chair of music, for his superior skill in that science, by the session.

session of the bards at the end of every third year. When his term expired, if he had maintained his superiority, he was re-chosen. He was the only person, except the domestic bard, who was allowed to perform in the king's presence. He was lodged in one of the apartments belonging to the heir apparent. In the hall he sat next to the judge of the palace. When the king desired to hear music, the chief musician sung two poems accompanied by the harp; one in praise of the Almighty, the other in honour of princes and their exploits; after which a third poem was sung by the domestic bard. His emoluments arose out of fees given by brides on their nuptials; and from those of novices in music, when they were admitted to the practice of their profession. The Welsh bards were usually accompanied in their songs by the harp, the crwth, and the flute. They frequently addressed poems to their princes and lords, in which they solicited presents; such as a horse, a bull, a sword, or a garment; and they were seldom, if ever, refused.

THE controller of the revenues had the privilege of bringing three guests to banquets in the palace. This officer, and the chancellor, received all the honey, the fish, and wild creatures; which were paid as tributes, or forfeited to the king. They also received a third part of the income arising to the king from his tenants in villanage.

THESE were the different officers of whom the royal household was composed. They were free-holders by their offices; and in consequence of this they all enjoyed the right of protection;

tection; by which they granted criminals a temporary safety. On the heads of these persons, and on all their members, a price was fixed by the laws. They received for their wearing apparel woollen cloth from the king, and linen from the queen. They were all assembled by the found of a horn.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

THERE were three species of courts; each of which enjoyed a distinct prerogative, with power to take cognisance of offences, and to punish them: the royal, the episcopal, and the abbatial. When a person, subject to one of these jurisdictions, litigated with a person subject to another; the cause was tried by the judges of the respective courts conjunctively.

THE royal courts, those in which the judges sat as the king's substitutes, were distinguished into four kinds; the principal court, the courts of *cantreys*, courts of *commots*, and extraordinary courts. The principal court was usually held at the king's chief residence.

FOR the administration of justice in the *commots* and *cantreys* remote from the principal court, inferior judges were appointed, with the title of chancellors; who also assisted the officers of revenue, called Meiri, in collecting the taxes. Extraordinary courts were appointed by the king to hear and determine extraordinary causes; and to remedy the abuses which had arisen from a perversion of the established laws.

WHEN:

WHEN the ordinary judges differed in points of law, the regular and secular canons were appointed in that case extraordinary judges.

THE principal courts of North Wales and Powys consisted of the following officers appointed by the king: a judge, a chancellor, a provost, a clerk to register the decrees of the court, and an apparitor to execute them. The courts of South Wales had the four last mentioned officers; with several judges who held their offices by virtue of the land they possessed, and received no fees.

ALL the courts were shut in spring, that plowing and sowing might not be impeded; and in autumn on account of the harvest. The judges were guided in their decisions, not only by the code of national laws, but likewise by the *Brawd-lyfr*,[†] or Book of Reports, which contained precedents of the proceedings and decrees of their predecessors; and by the writings of Welsh lawyers, also, which were held in great estimation. A legal cause was that in which four persons or parties were concerned: the king to preside, the judge to examine and determine, the prosecutor, and the party accused. The accusing party was bound over to prosecute; the party accused was obliged to find sureties, who were imprisoned during the pendency of the suit. In any suit civil

[†] The Book of Triads, and the Book of Reports, were private volumes written by Welsh lawyers. There was likewise a code of Welsh laws, called the laws of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, a prince posterior to Howel. If an action was brought forward according to the laws of Bleddyn, the judge could not frame his judgment by the laws of Howel, and *vice versa*.

or criminal, a clerical plaintiff must proceed against a lay defendant in the king's court; and of consequence, a lay plaintiff must prosecute his suit against his clerical adversary in the ecclesiastical court.

DISPUTES concerning hereditary right were frequently decided by single combat. Three sorts of persons, by the laws of Wales, might be killed with impunity; a madman, a foreigner, and a leper. No person was allowed to bequeath his property by testament; unless to the church, and for the payment of debts.

A WIFE was not allowed by law, to be a surety for her husband, or an evidence for or against him. A married woman had no disposal of any part of her husband's property, either by sale or purchase. A daughter was only entitled to a moiety of a son's share of the father's personal property. Land and buildings were the only property which descended by hereditary succession. Personal effects, under the regulation of the laws, were divided among the wife and children.

OF CAUSES BETWEEN SURETIES AND DEBTORS.

A DEBTOR was obliged to indemnify his surety by payment of the debt, or giving a pledge, or disavowing the bail. In a cause of debtor and surety, the surety was required to swear that he had given bail, and was discharged from his suit and bail; if he refused to swear, he lost the cause, and was obliged to pay the

the debt. A surety was indemnified, only by payment of the whole and not a part of the debt. The surety was not bound to discharge the debt, until the debtor had refused or failed ; but the law provided against such refusal or failure, by empowering the surety to take a pledge from the debtor more than equivalent to the debt. If a debtor found a surety, and afterwards fled to an asylum to evade payment ; the law in that case deprived him of his right of asylum. Utensils of the church could not be pledged. The bail of a responsible person could not be refused. Notorious drunkards, lunatics, hermits, foreigners, and persons in holy orders were incompetent to give bail, or to enter into any covenant, action, or personal obligation ; as were likewise monks without the consent of their abbots, vassals without the consent of their lords, scholars without the consent of their preceptors, sons under the age of fourteen without the consent of their fathers, and wives without the consent of their husbands ; except ladies of manors, giving bail for their vassals.

OF COMPACTS.

A LEGAL compact was made by the meeting of the parties before a witness ; declaring to him the nature of their compact, and joining their hands to his, under a promise of abiding by it. So very sacred was a compact considered, that it could not be annulled even by an express law.

OF

OF THE SEVERAL CASES IN WHICH A SINGLE
WITNESS WAS ADMISSIBLE.

A LORD, in a cause between two of his vassals, in which he himself was not concerned. An abbot, between two of his monks. A father, between two of his sons. A judge, concerning his own adjudication. A surety, in a cause concerning a matter for which he had given bail. A donor, in a cause concerning his own donation; or (according to other manuscripts) a priest between two of his parishioners. A young woman concerning her own virginity. The public herdsman of a township concerning the herd or flock under his care. A thief at the gallows concerning his accomplices.

It was usual for a husband to give presents to his wife on the first morning after her marriage, and before she arose out of bed; which presents were considered as her own property; but if the wife neglected to seize this favourable opportunity, she could never afterwards demand them.* This present was called *Egweddi* or *Cowyll*.

In cases of divorces among the Welsh, an equal division of property took place, under certain limitations. If a wife was separated from her husband before the expiration of seven years she was entitled to enjoy her *egweddi*. If separated after seven

* Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 80, 88.

years,

years, she divided with her husband all his property. If a wife separated from her husband for just causes she retained her *egweddi*,^{*} *parapharnalia*, and a fine called *gofyn*. A widow on the death of her husband divided with his heirs the personal property. When a husband, who had repudiated his first, took a second wife, the former was at liberty to marry again. A woman was allowed to leave her husband for the three following causes; leprosy, bad breath, and impotency; but in these cases the husband was under no obligation of dividing his property with the woman.

CRIMINAL LAW.

AN injury done to a single woman was to be compensated by half of that fine paid on the like occasion for any injury done to her brother. The murder of either a married or single woman was to be atoned for by half of the fine paid for the murder of her brother. For adultery, or even for indecent familiarities with a married woman, a fine was to be paid to the husband by the male offender. The forcible violation, or carrying away a married woman, was compensated by a triple augmentation of the mulct. A married woman, allowing indecent familiarities, or committing adultery with another man, might be divorced by her husband, and in that case lost her dower. The person who forcibly violated the chastity of a woman, was to pay a fine of twelve cows to the king; and the customary fine to the lord; and if the woman was a virgin, he was then to pay to her

^{*} Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 73.

her *paraphernalia*, and the greatest dower that could be exacted by law; together with the mulct usually paid for violated chastity.¹ If either a man or a woman were accused of adultery, and denied the charge; the party accused might prove his innocence by the oaths of fifty persons of the same sex, who were neither slaves, captives, nor aliens.

PERJURY was punished by the payment of a mulct of three cows to the king.

WHOEVER bailed a criminal, and did not produce him at the time of his legal appearance, was obnoxious to all the penalties to which the criminal himself was liable.

THE sole object of the law concerning the maiming of animals, was complete restitution to the owner; no other penalty being annexed to that offence.

FORFEITURE of land was incurred in the three following cases. A vassal giving notice to the enemy of the design of his lord, respecting any intended expedition. Treason against the person of his lord. And murder secretly perpetrated. But

¹ The several particulars, for which the author is indebted to the laws of Howel, are here inserted from the text and Latin translation of that curious code published by Dr. Wotton, folio, London, Ann. Dom. 1730. The author subjoins no references to the chapters or pages of that work, which is the only edition of the Welsh laws; because the copious and accurate index annexed to it, will be a ready direction to the reader, who is desirous of enquiring more particularly into the subject.

if the offender, by flight, should escape justice, and should afterwards be reconciled to his lord, he must in that case pay a double fine; but could not recover the inheritance of his land, unless he repaired to Rome, and there did penance; and procured also the Pope's letters that he had made his peace with God, and with his temporal lord.

THERE were three causes for which a man might give his wife personal correction. Wishing shame and evil to his beard. Committing any outrage against his person. And for engaging in an illicit connection with another man. If the husband took the above mentioned satisfaction, of correcting his wife, he forfeited those privileges which the law otherwise would have allowed him.

ON the death of Howel Dha, the late sovereign of the united principalities of Wales; Jeuav and Jago, the second and third sons of Edwal Voel, setting aside from the succession their eldest brother Meyric, assumed the government of North Wales.¹ To revenge upon the sons of Howel Dha the injuries which these princes had received from the father, they invaded South Wales with a powerful army; laying claim to its sovereignty as the

A. D.
948.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 59, 60.

eldest branch of the CYNETHIAN line; and though they met with a spirited opposition on the Carno mountains, they gained a complete victory.¹ The year following, having renewed hostilities, the same princes again invaded South Wales, and desolated by two successive inroads the country of Pembroke. The sons of Howel Dha, collecting their utmost force, laid waste, in their turn, the territory of North Wales as far as the river Conway. To check this invasion, the two princes Jeuav and Jago, opposed them at Llanrwt, a town situated on the banks of the Conway; where, after an obstinate battle, in which many on each side of considerable rank were slain, fortune decided as before in their favour; and pursuing their enemies into South Wales, they destroyed the country of Cardigan with fire and sword.² The sons of Howel Dha, with a kind of retaliative justice, were at length obliged to submit to the power of Jeuav and Jago; and in consequence of this superiority, these princes remained some years the entire sovereigns of Wales.³

A. D. 952. Ambition and the love of power universally prevail, and, in the conquest of barren mountains, inspire the like ardour, with which Alexander contended for the sovereignty of the world.

A. D. 958.

DURING this usurpation, and probably elated with the success of their arms, the kings of North Wales had neglected to pay the tribute which was due to the crown of England; agreeably to the impolitic institution of Roderic the Great, and the more recent, but no less imprudent regulation in the laws of Howel

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 59, 60.² Ibid. p. 60, 61.³ Ibid.

Dha. To preserve such an ornament to his crown, and a badge of subordination so flattering to his pride, Edgar, the king of England, invaded North Wales; and as he marched through the country spread around the usual devastations. Being acquainted with the injuries both countries had received from the wolves, which then abounded in North Wales, and destroyed sheep and other cattle; he remitted, with some degree of liberality, the ancient tribute; and only exacted the yearly payment of the heads of three hundred of those animals.¹ This demand, so singular in its nature, was paid by the Welsh princes during three or four years; after that time, the wolves being nearly extirpated, this country, agreeably to the liberal design of Edgar, ought to have been released from the payment of any future tribute.² Soon after this event, the Irish made a descent upon the island of Anglesey, destroyed the palace at Aberffraw, and slew Roderic the youngest son of Edwal Voel.³

A. D.
961.

A. D.
966.

THE union, so long subsisting between the princes of North Wales in a joint administration of twenty years, was at this period fatally dissolved; an event soon followed by a series of crimes, the consequences of a divided sovereignty, and of bosom friendship soured into deadly hatred.⁴

IN consequence of this disunion, by force of arms, Jago seized the person of his brother Jeuav, and consigned him to a tedious

¹ Stowe's Chron. p. 83. printed at London, A. D. 1614. Fabian's Chron. p. 249.

² W. Malmesbury, p. 59. Fabian, p. 249. Stowe's Chron. p. 83. Welsh Chron. p. 62. excepting only the number.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 62.

⁴ Ibid.

imprisonment. And Einion, the son of Owen prince of South Wales, taking advantage of these domestic feuds, annexed to his father's dominions the territory of Gwyr, in Glamorganshire.* To add still more to the distresses of the country, the
 A. D. Danes landed in Anglesey, and laid waste the district about Pen-
 969. mon; and soon after, in another enterprize, they gained for a time the possession of that island.†

THESE commotions having subsided, Howel, the son of Jeuav the captive prince, raised an army to deliver his father out of prison; and to take vengeance on his uncle Jago for the late outrage against natural affection and justice. Under the mask of filial piety, which, however, covered the most fatal ambition,
 A. D. Howel succeeded in his enterprize; having defeated the forces
 972. of Jago, and obliged him to abandon his territories. He likewise took prisoner in the action, Meyric, his eldest uncle; and to render him incapable of obstructing his designs, he put out his eyes; a species of barbarity common in that age; and in this miserable condition suffered him to languish in prison. Within a little time after his captivity, this prince fortunately died; and left two sons, Edwal and Jonaval. Howel, having proceeded so far in the progress of ambition, and too much enamoured of power to relinquish it easily, deposed his father; though he released him from the horrors of a tedious imprisonment.‡

* Welsh Chron. p. 62.

† Ibid.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 62, 63.

UNDER colour of revenging the injuries of his father, Howel, by acts of the deepest injustice and cruelty, attained to the sovereignty of North Wales.¹

A. D.
973.

It was an evil, peculiarly fatal to the independency of Wales, and produced by its civil dissensions; that the weaker party usually fled for protection to the kings of England; and engaged in their interests with that energy of spirit, which arises from a sense of injury, or is natural to men who have much to hope from the confusion of a state, or to fear from its justice.

AFTER the defeat of Jago, that prince had retired into England; and easily engaged Edgar to reinstate him upon the throne. The English king, desirous of fomenting the divisions of the Welsh, or of giving them a sovereign subservient to his will; entered into Wales with an army, and advanced to Bangor. Howel, unable to resist his force, was obliged to accede to the demand of the English prince; of allowing an equal share in the sovereignty to his uncle Jago. Assuming a sovereign authority, in consequence of the ascendancy he had gained, Edgar founded a new church at Bangor, on the south side of the cathedral, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary; he likewise confirmed the ancient privileges of that See, and endowed it with land and other gifts.² To humiliate still more the Welsh princes, he obliged Jago and his nephew Howel to accompany him to

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 64.

² Wynn's Hist. Wales, p. 59.

Chester. In this city, agreeably to his direction, he was met by six other sovereigns ;¹ who, all of them, with great solemnity did him homage, and took the customary oaths of fealty as to their lord paramount. This ceremony being finished, Edgar, attended by great numbers of the nobility, seated himself at the helm of his barge; and as a farther mark of subordination, commanded these eight independent princes to row him up the Dee, from the palace where he resided to the church of St. John the Baptist; whence he returned in the same state, after divine service was ended.² This instance of feudal arrogance, so disgraceful to regal dignity, marked a fastidious spirit in the English king, and a degree of barbarism still remaining in the Saxon manners.

AT this period, Dunwallon, the prince of the Strath-Clwyd Britons, who had settled in North Wales; intimidated by the cruel ravages of the Danes, or influenced by the pious spirit of that age, retired to Rome, and engaged in a religious life.³ On his retreat, that small state was reunited to the kingdom of North Wales.⁴

A. D.
976.

EINION, the son of Owen prince of South Wales, made a second inroad into the country of Gwyr, and laid waste that

¹ Kenneth king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumbria, Macon king of Man, with Dyfnwal, Sifrethus, and Ithel, three inferior Welsh princes.

² Selden's *Mare Clausum*, p. 1315. Brompton's *Chron.* p. 869. Matth. Westm. p. 287.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69. Welsh *Chron.* p. 65. ⁴ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 32.

territory,

territory. This affront would have been severely resented by Howel, the king of North Wales, if his arms at this time had not been directed against his uncle Jago, who was in open hostilities against him. With an army consisting of English and Welsh, Howel pursued that prince to the extremity of Wales, and at length took him prisoner; exhibiting an instance of generosity very inconsistent with himself, by allowing his uncle Jago to enjoy, during life, his portion of territory.¹ But so capricious was this tyrant in his ideas of policy, or in his feelings of humanity, that soon after this event, he caused his uncle Edwal Vychan to be murdered; without any apparent cause, except what arose from the suggestions of jealousy, or from a consciousness of guilt. This murder, instead of giving tranquility to Howel, produced fresh causes of fear, and a new object of terror sprung from the Hydra's head.

FIRE^d with the deepest resentment, and with the hopes of dispossessing him of the crown, Constantine the Black,* the son of Jago, who at this time was a prisoner to his nephew Howel, raised an army of Danes; and to revenge the injuries which his family had received, invaded North Wales, and laid waste the island of Anglesey. But Howel, who was not deficient in bravery though destitute of other virtues, collected his forces; and gave the Danes a signal defeat in a battle fought at Gwaith Hirbarth, in which young Constantine his cousin was slain.²

A. D.
979.

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 60.

* *Cystennyn Ddu.*

² Welsh Chron. p. 65.

A. D.
981.

THE Danes, mortified with the disgrace their arms had received, renewed hostilities; and invading South Wales, desolated the territory of Pembroke, and demolished the church of St. David; but having fought the celebrated battle of Llanwanoc, in which the Welsh army was probably commanded by prince Einion, they were forced to retire out of the country.¹ The year following, Alfred, earl of Mercia, with a large body of English, invaded South Wales. After he had destroyed the town of Brecknock, he was encountered by the united forces of the Welsh, under the command of Howel, king of North Wales, and Einion, the eldest son of Owen, prince of South Wales: in this battle the Mercian prince was defeated, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.² This occasional junction of the Welsh princes, and the prosperous exertion of their force; might have taught them the salutary effects of union, and the expediency of consolidating the national strength.

A. D.
983.

A COMMOTION having arisen among the inhabitants of Gwent,³ who were aiming at independency; Owen, the prince of South Wales, sent his son Einion to endeavour by persuasion to reduce them to obedience; but that gallant youth found a raging multitude as little capable of reason or pity as the stormy ocean; and regarding him as the heir to the crown, and consequently as the object of their fear and indignation, they tore him in pieces. Thus perished by an ignoble fate, a young prince, whose mili-

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 61.

² Welsh Chron. p. 66.

³ Comprehending parts of the present counties of Monmouth and Hereford.

itary talents and other virtues, had for some time very ably supported the cause of his country. He left two sons, Edwyn and Tewdwr Mawr; from whose loins descended several of the princes of South Wales.¹

HOWEL, king of North Wales, availing himself of the leisure which the late commotion had given him, increased his army; and in the following year marched into England; to retaliate on that country the devastations which the incursions of the English had brought upon Wales. In this expedition he was slain,² fighting against the enemies of his country, with a gallantry of spirit worthy the justice of his cause; but little suited to the tenor of his life, which has marked him to posterity as a savage and ruthless tyrant. A. D. 984.

A LITTLE before this period, terms of agreement were entered into by the legislatures of England and Wales, for securing the peace of the borders; which might seem to put the two countries on an equal footing of independency.³

THE late prince Howel dying without issue, his brother Cadwallon, the second son of Jeuav, took upon him the sovereignty

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 66.

² Ibid.

³ Saxon laws published by Wilkins, p. 125. from lord Lyttelton's Life Henry II. vol. II. p. 39. It appears however, that, during the reign of Howel Dha, this prince had dispossessed Morgan Hen, the lord of Glamorgan, of certain districts in that country; and that this dispute was tried by Edgar, king of England, in a full court of the prelates and nobility of England and Wales; when the land in dispute was adjudged to Morgan Hen, and his heirs. Spelman's Concilia, p. 414.

of North Wales; setting aside the rightful succession of Edwal and Jonaval, the sons of Meyric his eldest uncle. Unsatisfied with this act of injustice, and to fix himself, as he thought, more securely upon the throne, he determined on the destruction of his cousins; a practice very common with usurpers; who, besides the usual incitements of ambition, are urged to that barbarous policy by the principle of self-preservation. Jonaval, the eldest of these princes, fell into his hands, and was privately murdered; but Edwal had the good fortune to make his escape; and to see deserved chastisement fall upon the heads of those, whose injustice and cruelty had brought such calamities on his family. For Cadwallon had only been in possession of the government one year, and his hands were scarcely cold from the blood of his kinsman; when Meredydh, the son of Owen, the reigning prince of South Wales, invaded his dominions, and slew that usurper, with his brother Meyric.¹

A. D.
985.

IN consequence of his victory, Meredydh, who ruled in Powys by right of his mother, took possession of the kingdom of North Wales.² But the Danes invading Anglesey some time after this event, and having taken Llywarch his brother prisoner, with two thousand of his men, they put out his eyes. Intimidated by this disaster, and wounded by the cruel fate of his brother, Meredydh fled into his own country; leaving his new subjects exposed to the ravages of the Danes: and, to heighten their calamities, without a sovereign, and probably without any regular police, a

A. D.
986.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 67.

² British Antiq. Reviv'd by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 14.

distemper fell on their cattle; which raged with so much violence as to leave very few remaining in the country.¹

JEUAV, the son of Edwal Voel, died at this time; closing the evening of his days in peace and retirement; after he had spent the greatest part of his life in action, and amidst the storms of ambition.² A. D. 987.

THIS event was soon followed by the death of Owen, the son of Howel Dha, and prince of South Wales.³ Upon his decease, Meredydh his youngest son; disregarding the rights of his two nephews, the sons of Einion his eldest brother, assumed the reins of government; agreeably to the licentious spirit of the times, and the irregular course of succession.⁴ In the beginning of his reign, the Danes invaded South Wales; laid waste the country, and destroyed, with a marked animosity, the churches of St. David, Llanbadarn, and other religious places. Unable to check their devastations, Meredydh agreed to pay them, on condition of their relinquishing the country, one penny for every person within his dominions.⁵ But this tribute,⁶ so delusive and dishonourable; and so miserable a substitute for valour and exertion, was never paid, it may be recorded to their honour, by any of the kings of North Wales. Soon after this event, Edwyn, the nephew of Meredydh, and eldest son of Einion the right heir to the principality of South Wales; having engaged in his interest A. D. 988.

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 65. ² Welsh Chron. p. 70. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 71. ⁶ It was called Glwmaen, the tribute of the black army.

the Saxons and Danes, over-ran that country with a great army; and obliged the principal chieftains to acknowledge his sovereignty, and to give him hostages for their future fidelity. To retaliate
 A. D. 990. upon Edwyn this invasion, Meredydh laid waste the lands subject to the authority of his rival; but on a sudden, when the flames of civil war had desolated the country, and had produced a famine, an accommodation took place. The death of the only
 A. D. 991. son of Meredydh, which happened soon after, cemented more closely the union of these princes.¹

DURING this contest, North Wales had been left without a sovereign, exposed to the ravages of every invader; and in consequence the Danes landed again in Anglesey, and laid waste the whole island. On this emergency, but not on the desertion of Meredydh; a caprice only to be accounted for from the singular
 A. D. 992. levity of the times; the people placed Edwal, the son of Meyric, and the right heir to the crown, in the sovereignty of North Wales; the lineal succession having been set aside by the late usurpations.²

ON the accession of this prince, he began to regulate the affairs of his kingdom; and to place his subjects in such a posture of defence, as might secure them from the incursions of the Danes, or of other invaders; and he soon experienced the salutary effects of such a wise and spirited conduct.³ For, Meredydh, prince of South Wales, unwilling that his new dominions should be so

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 71.² Ibid.³ Ibid. p. 72.

easily torn from him, invaded North Wales with a powerful army; and having advanced to Llangwm, in the present county of Denbigh, he was met by Edwal, and entirely defeated; losing in the action his nephew Tewdwr Mawr, the youngest son of the late prince Einion.¹ The prosperity of Edwal was of short duration. He had scarcely returned into his own dominions, elated with success, and exulting in the hopes of enjoying his dominions in peace; when Swane, a Danish chieftain, landed in North Wales. Edwal, disdaining to purchase an uncertain tranquillity at the expence of his honour, determined to expel the Danes by force of arms, or to perish in the enterprise. In this gallant attempt he was slain, leaving an only son called Jago.²

A. D.
993.

Soon after this event, the Danes ravaged again the city of St. David; slew the bishop of that diocese; and meeting with no resistance, laid waste the adjacent territory. Unable to give a check to their ravages, and perhaps ashamed of his late timid and unavailing policy, Meredydh sunk under the calamities of his country, and died of grief; leaving only a daughter named Angharad, married to Llewelyn ap Seisyllt; and after his death to Cynvyn Hirdref. By each of these husbands she had children, whose different claims occasioned great civil commotions in Wales.³

A. D.
998.

LLEWELYN AP SEISYLLT, by right of his wife, succeeded to the principality of South Wales.⁴

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 72.

² Ibid. p. 73.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. p. 83.

THIS part of the history of Wales is only a recital of reciprocal inroads and injuries, a series of objects unvaried and of little importance, which pass the eye in a succession of cold delineations ; like the evanescent figures produced by the *camera obscura*. The characters and events are not brought distinctly into view, nor are they sufficiently explained ; to enable the historian to judge of their proportions, their beauty, or defects ; whence he can neither develop the principles of action, nor trace the connection of causes with effects, by leading incidents, or by the general springs which govern human affairs. There is therefore danger lest the reader, whose eye has been accustomed to more brilliant scenes, should turn away in disgust from a field, so sterile in itself, and which yields so little to the arts of cultivation.

JAGO, the son of Edwal the late king of North Wales, being set aside in the succession on account of his tender years, several competitors arose ; and in consequence North Wales exhibited many years a scene of the utmost confusion. The most eminent of these rivals were Cynan, the son of Howel, descended from the royal line ; and a chieftain of the name of Ædan ap Blegored, who founded his pretensions to the crown solely on his ambition and valour. Two rival chiefs, of warlike and irascible manners, are seldom disposed to adjust their claims by the slow procedures of negotiation or policy ; but refer them to the more prompt decision of the sword, the chief arbitrator of rights in these turbulent ages. In a battle which immediately ensued, Cynan was slain ; and in consequence Ædan ap Blegored was proclaimed sovereign of North Wales.¹

A. D.
1003.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 74, 83.

HAVING assumed the government, no remarkable incident occurred for some years; until the prince of South Wales invading Ædan's dominions, dispossessed him of his royalty and life. The four sons of the usurper were also slain in the same battle with their father.

A. D.
1015.

LLEWELYN AP SEISYLLT, in consequence of his victory, and disregarding the rights of Jago the son of Edwal, took upon him the government of North Wales; annexing that dignity to the two other principalities. This prince, maternally descended from the royal blood of Wales, had some colourable pretence for his ambition; his mother Trawst being the daughter of Elis, the second son of Anarawd, who was the eldest son of Roderic the Great.*

A. D.
1015.

THE wise administration of Llewelyn soon produced national prosperity. To express the felicity of his reign, contrasted with the preceding times, we are told, "that the earth brought forth double; that the people prospered in all their affairs, and multiplied wonderfully; and that the cattle increased in such numbers, that there was not a poor man in Wales, from the southern to the northern sea; but every man had plenty, every house a dweller, and every town inhabitants." The slight touches which history has given of the character of Llewelyn, present him in an amiable point of view. His talents for war and for command, his love of order and of justice;

* Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 14. Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 79.

* Welsh Chron. p. 84.

which had enabled him so early to diffuse happiness among his subjects, ought to have rendered him the object of their warmest affections. But so little civilized, and so turbulent were the Welsh; delighting more in war than in the habits of cultivated life, that they treated with coldness and ingratitude a sovereign, whose qualities, in a milder period, would have rendered him the object of love and veneration.

A. D.
1019.

THE first appearance of disaffection broke out in the rebellion of Meyric, a chieftain of eminence; but was easily checked by Llewelyn, who slew the traitor with his own hands, and defeated his forces.* So alienated from their loyalty were the people of South Wales, that they engaged a Scotsman of mean birth to be the instrument of their design; imposing him upon the world as the son of their late prince Meredydh; and by the name of Rhun, the disaffected chieftains proclaimed this im-

A. D.
1020.

postor their sovereign.† The annals of these times do not explain the motives of this extraordinary procedure; nor are we able from such a chaos to throw any light upon the causes of the revolt; except from the repentment which his subjects in that country might feel, because Llewelyn, having been many years their sovereign, had for some time taken up his residence in North Wales. That prince, having intelligence of the rebellion, collected his forces, and marched into South Wales, to give an early check to the evil at its source; and having advanced to Abergwili in Caermarthenshire, he found the whole power of

* Welsh Chron. p. 85.

† Ibid.

the country, waiting his approach, under the command of the newly created prince. At the moment, when the two armies were going to engage, Rhun encouraged his soldiers by a confident assurance of victory; after which he privately retired out of the battle. Llewelyn, boldly confronting the danger, and placing himself at the head of his troops, led them on to the charge; calling aloud upon the Impostor, whose cowardice so little justified the character he had assumed. This battle was bloody, and on each side disputed with great spirit; for strange as it may appear, the rebels fought, with a determined bravery, for a despicable coward, and for an idol of their own raising; while the royalists were scarcely animated in the cause of their sovereign, a native of their country, and of such incomparable merit. At length, the troops of Llewelyn, fired with the extraordinary valour of their prince, and ashamed to be defeated by men over whom they had been often victorious, made a vigorous effort; which put the enemy to flight; and the Impostor, notwithstanding the address he had made use of to save his life, was overtaken and slain in the pursuit. Having thus fortunately put an end to the rebellion, Llewelyn ap Seisyllt returned into North Wales.*

THE small remainder of his days this prince passed in tranquillity; but his great and virtuous qualities could not exempt him from the destiny which usually attended the princes of

* Welsh Chron. p. 85, 86.

A. D.
1021.

Wales. For Howel and Meredydh, the sons of Edwyn,* whose family for some years had been set aside in the succession of South Wales, engaged in a conspiracy against him; and either by their emissaries, or with their own hands, assassinated this brave and amiable prince. He left only one son of the name of Gryfydh.¹ This prince erected the castle of Rhuddlan, in which palace he usually resided; and which afterwards continued to be the royal residence during the life of his son.²

THE principle of evil which eventually destroyed the British empire, still remained in the political constitution and in the national character of the Welsh; preying, like a worm at the root, on the vital powers of their different states; and by uniform and slow degrees working their decline and ultimate ruin. Besides other causes of national decay, there was one; which, though a striking defect in their ancestors the Britons, was not inherent in their own government or manners; and that was, except in a single instance, a total inattention to their naval power; although its utility was apparent from their maritime situation, and also from the late example of Alfred. That a prince, like Llewelyn, of ability and vigour, and who was anxious to promote the happiness of his people, should have neglected such an obvious mode of defence, is a proof that

* Ap Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dha. The word *ap*, which so frequently occurs in Welsh names, signifies a *son*.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 85, 86.

² Dr. Powel's Notes on Giraldus Cambrensis Itiner. Cambrae, cap. X. p. 213. Camden's Brit. p. 687.

he possessed no extent of genius, or that his resources were limited.

THE odium naturally excited by the murder of Llewelyn ap Seifyllt, precluded Howel and Meredydh from any chance of attaining to the sovereignty of North Wales; and afforded Jago the son of Edwal ap Meyric, whose title had sunk under the popularity or vigour of the late prince, a favourable opportunity of obtaining possession of the crown; from which his family, lineally descended from Roderic the Great, had been long unjustly excluded.¹

A. D.
1021.

RHYTHERCH, the son of Jestin, by force of arms, had assumed the government of South Wales. The two brothers, Howel and Meredydh, disappointed in their views upon one kingdom, and excluded their rightful succession in their own principality, were forced, through mere inability, to remain some years in quiet; but having engaged in their service a body of Irish Scots, they defeated and slew the usurper; and in their joint names took upon them the government of South Wales. The sons of Rhytherch, having raised fresh forces, fought another battle at Hyarthwy with the princes of South Wales; but with no better success than their father had experienced; their army being so effectually routed, that for many years they were unable to support their pretensions to the crown.² These victories might have secured to Howel and Meredydh, the quiet possession of their dominions; if the spirit of revenge, kept alive in that age.

A. D..
1031..

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 87, 88.

² Ibid. p. 87, 88.

A. D.
1032.

by every incitement which influence the passions, had not retaliated on these princes the murder of Llewelyn ap Seisyllt; for the nephews of that prince engaged in a conspiracy against them, assassinated Meredydh,¹ and forced Howel the other brother into exile.² The feelings of humanity are wounded at the recital of such horrid barbarities; and we hasten with pleasure to a period, when the virtue of a few individuals influenced the tide of affairs, and turned it from the lowest ebb of weakness and misery, to a flow of national prosperity.

A. D.
11037.

GRYFFYD H the son of Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, had, by this time, attained to the age of manhood; and, already weary of wasting his active spirit in the shade of retirement, he resolved to employ it in the glorious attempt of recovering his father's throne. His youth and activity, and the popular memory of his father, with the pleasing and flattering prospect of novelty, united the public voice in his favour. But Jago, the reigning king of North Wales, not of a spirit to relinquish easily the charms of royalty and his indubitable right, collecting all the force he was able, attempted with great courage to oppose the popular current; his army, however, was defeated by Gryffyd h, and he himself slain in the action, leaving an only son named Cynan.³

GRYFFYD H AP LLEWELYN, was scarcely seated on the throne, when the united forces of the English and Danes entered into Wales. With a promptness of courage, natural to his years

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 88. ² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 85. ³ Welsh Chron. p. 89.
and

and character, the young prince advanced to the frontier of his kingdom; and meeting the confederates at Crosford on the banks of the Severn, he entirely defeated their forces.¹ Elated with success, he proceeded thence into South Wales; and marching through that principality, received the submission of the inhabitants; having, a second time, driven Howel, the surviving brother, out of his dominions. But that prince, retiring to Edwyn, the brother of Leofric earl of Chester, raised by his means an army of English and Danes; with which he marched into Wales against Gryffyd. Fortune, however, continuing propitious, that prince overthrew the foreigners, slew Edwyn, and again forced Howel to a precipitate flight.² Soon after this victory, Gryffyd returned into North Wales.³

HOWEL the prince of South Wales, having reinforced his army, made another attempt to recover his dominions; and too sanguine of success, he brought his wife into the field, to share in the triumphs of a victory he was in full expectation of obtaining.⁴ Gryffyd receiving intelligence of this event, marched with his usual celerity into South Wales; and meeting Howel at Pencadaer in Caermarthenshire, he there gave him battle, and entirely defeated his army. The unhappy prince escaped with difficulty; and, to render his fate more deplorable, his wife was taken prisoner, and fell into the hands of his rival. The beauty of this lady captivated the heart of her conqueror. Instead of protecting her honour, or yielding up this princess to

A. D.
1038.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 90.

² Ibid. p. 91.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

her injured husband, she was detained by Gryffyd as his concubine.¹ In times less savage than these, such an action, measured by civilized ideas of heroism; incapable of offering violence to weakness, or of insulting the feelings of a vanquished enemy; would have been received with general abhorrence. But it does not appear, that Gryffyd lost any reputation with his subjects; the Welsh regarding whatever they had taken in war, even the wives of the vanquished, as the lawful property of the conqueror.² So great is the force of habit upon the human mind, as to counteract the first and the noblest principles of nature and religion.

A. D.
1041.

STUNG with the keen resentment which such injuries would naturally excite, Howel came the third time into South Wales; in hopes of revenging the late insult upon his honour, and by another brave effort to recover his wife and his crown. He had not been there long before a large body of foreigners landed in the country; who, spreading themselves abroad, committed great depredations. Howel, though desirous of reserving his strength for the main contest with the king of North Wales, could not be indifferent to their ravages; but with much gallantry of spirit, and with an honest desire of conciliating the affections of the Welsh, he suddenly attacked the foreigners, and forced them with great loss to retire to their ships.³

In the course of these events the attention of Gryffyd ap Llewelyn had been engaged in an affair of some importance.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 91. ² Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. ³ Welsh Chron. p. 92.

Cynan, the son of Jago ap Edwal, who on his father's death had fled into Ireland for safety ; having engaged in his interest the king of Dublin, whose daughter he had married, landed in North Wales ; and either by accident, or by a stratagem of his own, contrived to take Gryffyd prisoner. But the Welsh, being apprised of the disaster, and anxious for the safety of their king, pursued the Irish ; recovered him out of their hands ; and following them with great slaughter to their ships, obliged them to return into Ireland.¹

Howel, the prince of South Wales, by the assistance of the Danes, and of those friends who still adhered to his fortunes ; raised such a force as might enable him once again to make head against Gryffyd. That prince, alive to his interests, and that his own territories might not be rendered the seat of war, instantly marched into the enemy's country ; and defeating the forces of his rival, pursued them to the source of the Towi, a river in Caermarthenshire ; where a second action more bloody than the former ensued ; in which the unfortunate Howel was slain, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.² Thus was the full measure of vengeance poured upon the heads of this prince and his family, for the murder they had lately committed on Llewelyn ap Seisyllt.

A. D.
1042.

New competitors arose, on the death of Howel, to dispute with Gryffyd the sovereignty of South Wales. These were the

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 93.

² Ibid. p. 92.

sons of Rhytherch ap Iestyn; who asserted their claim to that principality, because their father for a little time had enjoyed its government. Their pretensions were opposed by Gryffydd, with his usual activity and vigour; but not with the same decisive good fortune; for after a bloody and obstinate engagement which lasted until night, both armies, equally fatigued and unwilling to renew the combat, returned to their respective countries in order to collect reinforcements.¹ Excepting a slight insurrection which was easily repelled, the two States, however, enjoyed, under the dominion of Gryffydd, from causes not accounted for in the Welsh annals, a season of unaccustomed tranquility.

It was, probably, during this interval of peace, that Gryffydd appears to have paid some attention to naval concerns, by procuring from a foreign country a few ships of war, which were manned by foreign sailors. Though the motives do not appear which induced him to an undertaking so novel to the Welsh; yet it arose, no doubt, from the obvious policy of securing from ravages the maritime parts of his dominions; and of importing corn and other provision from foreign markets.²

A. D. 1050. CYNAN, the son of Jago ap Edwal, having remained quiet in Ireland, since his late fruitless attempt, collected a body of troops among his Irish adherents; with a view to recover, if possible, his inheritance, and hereditary dignity of his family; but ap-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 92.

² Lord Lytton's Life of Henry II.

proaching the coast of North Wales, there suddenly arose a violent storm; which destroyed or dispersed his fleet in such a manner, as to render the expedition ineffectual.¹

THIS interval of peace little suiting the warlike spirit of Gryffyd, he made an inroad into the marches about Hereford; and was opposed by the English, and by a Norman garrison in that castle. But the contest having ended in favour of the Welsh prince, he returned into his own dominions enriched with the spoils of the country.²

A. D.
1052.

RHYS, the brother of Gryffyd king of North Wales, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, having committed frequent depredations in the English marches, had become, on that account, the object of particular resentment. Being defeated and taken prisoner in an incursion he had made on the borders; he was put to death at Bulundune, by the command of king Edward the Confessor, who in this instance assumed a sovereign authority; and his head was sent to that prince, who then kept his court at Gloucester.³

A. D.
1053.

GRYFFYD, the son of Rhytherch ap Jestyn, having recovered from the blow which he had formerly received, at this time raised an army; to endeavour once again to wrest the principality of South Wales from Gryffyd, the king of North Wales. The

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 94.

² Stowe, p. 96. Roger Hovedon, p. 442.

³ Simon Dunelmæ sub. Ann. 1053. Stowe's Chron. p. 97. Matth. Westm. p. 323.

Hist. Angl.

A. D. activity of this prince defeated his ambitious design; for, instantly
 1054. marching against him, he easily routed his forces, and his competitor was slain in the action.*

AN incident which happened soon after, enabled Gryffyd to revenge his brother's death, and the insult which had been offered to the independency of his crown.

ALGAR earl of Chester, having been banished by Edward the Confessor, on slight suspicion, or on no grounds of offence, had retired into Ireland; where engaging in his service eighteen vessels, he landed in North Wales, and put himself under the protection of Gryffyd. These leaders, acting in conjunction with each other, ravaged the borders of England; and actuated by the same spirit of vengeance, they proceeded into Herefordshire, and laid waste that fertile country. To oppose this dangerous inroad, Ranulph earl of Hereford, raised an army composed of English and Norman troops. With this force he met the confederates advancing within two miles of Hereford, and offered them battle. Gryffyd accepted the challenge, with all that confidence which long success naturally inspires. The earl had ordered the English forces to fight upon horseback, contrary to the custom of their nation; but when all was prepared to begin the onset, that nobleman, and the Norman troops which he himself commanded, fled out of the field; daunted by the appearance of the Welsh, or not able to stand the shock of their furious charge.

A. D.
 1055.

* Welsh Chron. p. 98.

The English soon followed the example of their leader; and the Welsh, pursuing them with great rapidity, cut in pieces four or five hundred of the fugitives; and having entered into Hereford, they burned the minster, and slew seven of the canons who rashly attempted to defend it: they then levelled the walls, and set the city on fire; and putting to death many persons of note, and carrying others into captivity, they returned in triumph, loaded with much valuable spoil.¹

THE pacific spirit of the Confessor was roused by this formidable invasion; and he commanded Harold, the son of earl Godwin, to collect forces from every part of the kingdom, which were to assemble at Gloucester. At the head of this army that general marched into North Wales; and advancing, without any resistance, to the Snowdon mountains,² he lay there encamped, expecting the approach of the enemy. Unable to oppose the English forces, Gryffyd, and the earl of Chester, retired into South Wales. As soon as Harold was informed of their retreat, he returned to Hereford; leaving however the greatest part of his army, to preserve his conquests, and give an early check to any future resistance of the natives. During his residence in that city, he rebuilt its walls, and added new fortifications to that frontier post. He also entered into a negotiation with Gryffyd; and at length concluded a peace not much to the honour of England; as Algar was indulged with a pardon, and the

¹ Saxon Chron. p. 169. Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelm. p. 188. Matth. Westm. p. 324.

² Ibid.

full enjoyment of his earldom ; and no compensation appears to have been made for the ravages, or the expence of the war.¹ The peace being concluded, that nobleman returned with his fleet to Chester ; where the mariners and soldiers remained until they had received their pay.² Algar then repaired to the court of Edward, and obtained from that prince the confirmation of his pardon and dignity.³ It is not easy to account for the conduct of Harold, in retreating so suddenly out of Wales ; and in concluding so dishonourable a peace with the Welsh, over whom his arms had gained an unusual advantage.

THE easy victory lately obtained over the English and Normans, though completely and heavily armed ; added to the usual incitements of plunder and national hatred ; induced Gryffyd h ap Llewelyn, in open violation of the peace, to make another inroad into the country about Hereford. In this incursion the bishop of that diocese⁴ was slain at Glastonbury ; as well as the viscount, or sheriff of the county ; and many of the English also, both laymen and ecclesiastics.⁵

THOUGH the late peace had been broken by this violent outrage, no reprisals appear to have been made ; and through the mediation of Harold, and of Leofric earl of Mercia, the tranquillity of these hostile nations was for a time restored.⁶

¹ Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelm, p. 188. Matth. Westm. p. 324.

² Simon Dunelm, p. 188. Holinshed's English Hist. p. 192.

³ Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelm, p. 188. Matth. Westm. p. 324.

⁴ Matth. Westm. p. 325. Roger Hovedon, p. 144.

⁵ Sim. Dunelm, p. 188.

⁶ Sim. Dunelm, p. 189. R. Hovedon, p. 444.

A PERSON in the situation of Algar, must hold the favour of his prince by a very precarious tenure; as the clemency of sovereigns is usually of uncertain duration, when extorted by force or expediency. Lying again under the suspicion of treason, he was a second time banished the realm; and sought an asylum in the dominions of Gryffyth the king of North Wales; by whose aid, and the assistance of a fleet from Norway, which accidentally arrived upon the coast, he was once more reinstated in his earldom.¹ Edward, justly incensed at the late barbarities, and violation of faith; and dreading, no doubt, the consequence if Wales should become the refuge of his malecontent subjects, determined to employ the whole force of his kingdom in the conquest of that country. He trusted the execution of this important design to Harold, the most distinguished nobleman in his court for valour and abilities.² This general, having raised a very considerable army, marched with such celerity and conduct into North Wales, that he had nearly surprised Gryffyth in his palace at Rhuddlan. The Welsh prince, scarcely apprised of his danger a moment before the English presented themselves at the gates, as the only means of safety, threw himself, with a few of his attendants, into one of his ships, at that time equipped in the harbour; and sailing that instant, fortunately made his escape.³ The loose annals of these times do not inform us to what country he retired in his distress.

A. D.
1058.A. D.
1063.¹ Simon Dunelm, p. 189. Roger Hovedon, p. 444.² Simon Dunelm, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Matth. Westm. p. 329.³ Ibid.

MORTIFIED that the Welsh king should escape so unexpectedly out of his hands, Harold, in resentment, burned his palace; and set on fire all the ships of war and the other vessels remaining in the harbour of Rhudd-lan.¹ He then returned to Bristol; and having fitted out a fleet, on a new plan of decisive operation, he sailed round the coast of Wales;² with a view, no doubt, of preventing the importation of corn and of other provisions.

IN the mean time, a strong body of horse, under the command of earl Tosti, the brother of Harold, marched, by the previous command of the English king, into North Wales.³ As soon as the English general had intelligence of the arrival of his brother, he landed, and joined him with his infantry; leaving his fleet, with orders to cruize as before along the coast of Wales.⁴ On the junction of these troops, Harold made himself master of the level country.⁵ Being sensible, in such a country as Snowdun, that his soldiers ought not to be encumbered by their arms, he provided his infantry with targets made of hides, and other lighter kinds of armour;⁶ more suitable for service in a mountainous region broken by rivers, defiles and forests. His cavalry he left on the plains under the command of his brother; excepting only a few horse, which, supported by small parties of heavy armed infantry, he ordered to follow as a body of reserve. Marching himself at the head of his troops, he advanced into

¹ Simon Dunelm, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Matth. West. p. 329.

² Simon Dunelm, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 47.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Historia Ingulphi, p. 68. Cale's Script.

the mountainous parts of the country; and having driven the Welsh, with great slaughter, out of their inmost recesses, he at length compelled them to sue for peace.¹ Thus, by the united effects of vigour, activity and conduct, coinciding with other causes, did Harold subdue a people who had been hitherto invincible. In want of the animating presence and spirited activity of their prince, without the means of concerting necessary measures of defence, and probably straitened for provisions; it is no wonder that the Welsh, surprised and dispirited, should sink under the impression of the English arms. On this occasion Harold set up several pillars of stone; on each of which was engraved this Latin inscription, *Hic Fuit Victor Haraldus*; to perpetuate the glory of having passed mountains, which had hitherto been the inaccessible barriers between the spirit of freedom and the rage of conquest.²

So totally subdued were the Welsh, that they submitted to the tribute which in ancient times they had usually paid; and gave hostages to Harold, as pledges of their future obedience.³ Under the impression of fear, or incensed at his late desertion, they, likewise, renounced allegiance to Gryffydd, their sovereign.⁴

CONSIDERING his active and warlike spirit, we can attribute the absence of Gryffydd to no other cause, than to the general

¹ Camden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibson's edition, from Giraldus Cambrensis.

² Camden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibson's edition, from Giraldus Cambrensis.

³ Simon Dunelmæ, p. 192. Matth. Westm. p. 329.

⁴ Ibid. Hist. Ingulphi. p. 68. Matt. West. p. 329.

A. D.
1064

disaffection of his subjects; at a time, too, when his own interests, and the very safety of his country demanded his presence. Whatever were his motives of absence, whether the revolt of his subjects, or inability to return on account of the English fleet, this prince came into North Wales in the summer of the following year.¹ As soon as he landed, he attempted to assert his own rights, and to vindicate the common cause against Harold; who, by the incitement of Caradoc, the son of Gryffyd ap Rhytherch, had invaded South Wales, and had subdued a great part of that country.² Instead of rejoicing at his presence, or eagerly ranging under his standard, this gallant prince was put to death by his own subjects, at the instigation of Harold, and during his march into South Wales.³ As the first fruits of their vassalage, this improvident and ungrateful people sent his head to the English general; together with the prow of the ship in which he had returned.⁴ Besides two sons, Meredydh and Ithel, Gryffyd left a daughter called Nêst; who was afterwards married to Trahaearn ap Caradoc, king of North Wales.⁵

IN this manner died Gryffyd the son of Llewelyn ap Seisyllt; whose princely qualities entitled him to a happier fate. His talents for government, and the vigour and prosperity of his arms, soon turned the tide of affairs, vindicated the honour of his kingdom, and gave it an unusual importance. His amiable

¹ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 48. ² Welsh Chron. p. 101. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Sim. Dunelm. c. p. 191.

⁵ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 95, 101.

manners, and his abilities in war, made him equally the idol of his people, and the terror of his enemies; and had rendered a reign of thirty-four years unclouded by any adversity; until the late storm, which perhaps it was not in his power either to elude or repel, in some measure shaded its glory, and deprived this excellent prince of his life, and his country of its freedom.

It is but too probable, that this foul murder was perpetrated, through the influence of Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, the sons of Cynvyn by Angharad, the mother of the late king; as these princes were, by the appointment of king Edward, invested, on this occasion, with the sovereignty of North Wales and Powys.¹ At the same time, the English king gave the principality of South Wales to Meredydh, the eldest son of Owen ap Edwyn.² These princes were obliged to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, and to pay the full tribute, which ever had been paid to any of his predecessors.³ A law, at this time, was made by earl Harold, which enacts, that if any Welshman, coming into England without licence, was taken on that side of Offa's dyke, his right hand should be cut off. This statute shews, that, so late as the reign of Edward the Confessor, this dyke was considered as the discriminating line between the two nations.⁴

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 102. Simon Dunelm, p. 192. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 94.

² Welsh Chron. p. 102.

³ Matth. West, p. 329. Sim. Dunelm, p. 191. Chr. de Mailros, p. 159.

⁴ Camden's Britannia, p. 585, Gibson's edit. Speed's Chron. p. 401.

AN incident happened in the late reign, which though not very striking at first, at length arose into historical importance. Macbeth, the tyrant of Scotland, having caused Banquo to be murdered, of whose integrity and influence he was jealous; his son Fleance, to avoid the tyranny of that usurper, fled into North Wales,¹ and was kindly received by Gryffydd ap Llewelyn; in whose court he was long entertained with the warmest affection. During his residence in the Welsh court, he became enamoured of Nêst, the daughter of that prince; and violating the laws of hospitality and honour, by an illicit connection with her, she was delivered of a son who was named Walter. In resentment of so foul an offence, Gryffydd commanded Fleance to be put to death; and reduced his daughter to the lowest servile situation, for having suffered herself to be dishonoured by a foreigner. As the youth, who was the fruit of this illicit connection, advanced in years, he became distinguished for his valour and an elevated mind. A dispute having arisen between him and one of his companions, the nature of his birth was retorted upon him by his angry antagonist in terms of reproach; which so irritated the fiery spirit of Walter, that he instantly killed him; and afraid of abiding the consequences of the murder, he fled into Scotland. On his arrival in that kingdom, he insinuated himself among the English, who were in the train of queen Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling.² He soon acquired, by his wisdom and conduct in this

¹ Buchanan Hist. Rer. Scot. p. 193. Welsh Chron. p. 98.

² Welsh Chron. p. 98. Dr. Powel's notes on Giraldus Cambrensis Itiner. Cambrie, lib. I. cap. II. p. 88.

country, the general esteem ; and his abilities unfolding as they were employed in the public service, he was appointed lord steward of Scotland, and receiver of the revenues of the realm. From this office, he and his descendants have taken the surname of Stuart ; and from this root have sprung the royal house of that name, and many other branches of illustrious families in Scotland.

As Caradoc, the son of Gryffyth ap Rhytherch, had been the cause of the late invasion by Harold, he was in hopes of obtaining, on the death of the late prince, the government of South Wales. Instead of satisfying the ambition of the Welsh chieftain, that nobleman banished him the country ; and, either placing no confidence in a man whom he knew to be subtle and deceitful ; or finding that he could not obtain from him a lordship, which he was desirous of possessing near Hereford, he caused Meredyth, as before related, whom he had found more compliant to his will, to be invested with the sovereignty. On this lordship, Harold erected a very splendid house, at Portaske-with in Monmouthshire ;² and having frequently given an invitation to king Edward, who at that time resided at Gloucester, that prince at length paid him a visit.

THIS mark of favour excited the envy of Tosti, the eldest brother of Harold ; which, a little time after, was highly inflamed by a trifling incident. Being at a feast with the king,

¹ Buchanan, p. 198.

² Simon Dunelm, p. 192.

in his court at Windsor, that prince ordered Harold to present him with a cup of wine; a preference which had such an effect on the passion and the pride of Tosti, that setting aside every sense of fear or decency, he seized his brother, and dragged him to the ground by the hair of his head.¹ For this offence he was banished the king's presence.

RETIRING from the English court in great fury, he proceeded to Hereford, where Harold was preparing an entertainment for the king; he there murdered all the servants belonging to his brother; and cutting off their heads, legs, arms, and other parts of their bodies, he put them into the vessels of wine, metheglin, ale and beer, which were reserved for the royal entertainment. He then sent his sovereign a contemptuous message, that there was no occasion to provide any other than fresh provisions, as he himself had taken care to leave a sufficiency of preserved and powdered meats.² For this second offence he was banished the realm for life.³

THIS singular barbarity had not been perpetrated long, when Caradoc the son of Gryffyd ap Rhytherch came to Portaske-with, the house lately erected by Harold; and to revenge the disappointment he had lately received from that nobleman, slew the labourers who were there at work, with all his people and

¹ Simon Dunelmæ, p. 192.

² Matth. Westm. p. 331. Welsh Chron. p. 104, 105. Simon Dunelmæ, p. 192. Camden's Brit. p. 597.

³ Ibid.

servants ; and then defacing the structure, he carried away the materials, which, at a great expence, had been brought to ornament the building.' 'Whatever illustrates the character of man, or discriminates nicely the spirit of the times, will be interesting to the reader of sentiment ; though the incidents we have lately recorded, form no leading links, which are essential in the chain of our history.

IN consequence of the death of Harold, and of the decisive battle of Hastings, William, duke of Normandy, had mounted the English throne. During the conquest of England by that prince, the Welsh remained inactive spectators of the scene before them ; viewing it with the same indifference, as if it had been a struggle between two foreign nations. Indeed, it was not likely that they should feel themselves interested in the prosperity of either side ; knowing whatever was the event, that in their turn, they themselves might become the victims of the conqueror's fury ; and it was certainly right conduct, to suffer two people, from whose ambition they had every thing to fear, to weaken or to destroy each other by mutual hostilities. But it is strange, that a brave people like the Welsh, during the favourable moments which this contest afforded, did not, by a spirited enterprize of some effect and importance, wipe away the late national dishonour ; and by wise, united, and vigorous measures, attempt to recover the independence they had lost.

A. D.
1066.

Matth. Westm. Welsh Chron. &c.

NOT-

A. D.
1066.
1st of Wil-
liam the Con-
queror.

NOTWITHSTANDING the want of spirit, or general inattention of the Welsh at this juncture, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, the kings of North Wales, during the absence of William in Normandy, joined Edric earl of Mercia, in a desultory incursion upon the borders; and laid waste the country of Hereford as far as Wyebidge.*

A. D.
1068.

THESE princes had scarcely returned into their own territories, when Meredydh and Ithel, the sons of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, the late king of North Wales, appeared upon the stage as competitors for the crown. The young princes, in support of their indubitable rights, raised an army, and fought a severe battle with the reigning princes, at a place called Mechain in the county of Montgomery. In this action, one of the rival princes on each side, Rhiwallon and Ithel, was slain; and Meredydh, after seeing his army defeated, was forced to fly for safety amidst the inmost recesses of the mountains. The openings into these mountains being strictly guarded by Bleddyn, rendered his escape impossible; and the young prince miserably perished by cold and hunger. This victory left Bleddyn ap Cynvyn sole sovereign of North Wales and Powys.†

CARADOC the son of Gryffydd ap Rhytherch, not brooking his late disappointment, raised a large body of Normans; and joining them with his own vassals out of the district of Gwent, attacked Meredydh prince of South Wales, on the banks of the

* Simon Dunelm, p. 197. Welsh Chron. p. 109. † Welsh Chron. p. 109.

Rympyn, a river in that country ; whose forces being much inferior in point of strength, were easily routed, and he himself slain in the action. Caradoc did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory ; as he died soon after, and left his son Rhytherch to succeed to the government of South Wales.*

THOUGH no general or concerted measures of resistance had taken place against the tyranny of William, a few insurrections arose from the discontent or patriotism of the English lords. Under cover of celebrating a marriage at Norwich, between the sister of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, many of the nobility in England conspired against William ; and in the midst of their carousals, entered into a solemn engagement to defend their liberties.† To these nuptials several of the Welsh chieftains were invited, out of respect to the mother of the earl of Norfolk, she being a native of that country ; and in hopes, perhaps, of inducing the princes of Wales, by such an act of courtesy, to favour their enterprise.‡ In the morning, when sober reflection had returned, Waltheof, a Saxon nobleman, and one of the conspirators, struck with the disloyalty of the enterprise, or its danger, repaired to the king in Normandy ; and informed him of the conspiracy, with the part which he himself had acted. That monarch, on receiving this intelligence, came into England ; and with his usual vigour, assisted by the spirited measures of his ministers, gave a check to the rebellion before

A. D.
1073.
7th of Wil-
liam the
Conqueror.

* Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 103.

† Matth. Paris, p. 7. Watts's edition.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 111.

it had matured into strength; and this insurrection, like all others, when they prove ineffectual, only served to render the conqueror's power more absolute. Two noblemen, and others of the conspiracy, died by the hands of the executioner.² And many of the Welsh, under the pretext of treason, were involved in the same fate, though invited to the nuptials merely as spectators of the ceremony; some of whom were hanged, others had their eyes put out, and the remainder were banished the realm.³ This stroke of *assumed* justice points out the savage and decisive character of William the Conqueror; and the tame submission of the Welsh, without reprisals or shew of resentment, marks the low ebb of national spirit at this dishonourable period.

A. D.
1073.

THE same fate, which had ended the career of many of the Welsh princes, put a period to the days of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, the king of North Wales and Powys. This prince, from motives we are not able to account for, was assassinated by Rhys, the son of Owen ap Edwyn, the youngest son of Howel Dha; and who was aided, in this cruel transaction, by the Welsh chieftains who inhabited the banks of the Towy.*⁴

THE institution of a code of laws, and the general esteem in which Bleddyn ap Cynvyn was held by his subjects, for his amiable manners and the mildness of his government, might have

² Stowe's Chron. p. 105.

² Welsh Chron. p. 111.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 7. Stowe's Chron. p. 105.

* *Ystrad Tywi*. ⁴ Welsh Annals, p. 111.

transmitted his name with honour to posterity; if deep suspicion* had not fixed a stain upon his memory for the murder of his sovereign; and if he had not betrayed the liberties of his country, and yielded up its honour, by deigning to receive his crown from the hands of its hereditary enemy, and by consenting to hold its authority as a tributary† of the English princes.†

* Welsh Chron. p. 102.—That the reader may be enabled to form his own judgment on the justice of this suspicion, the author has subjoined the very words of the Welsh Chronicle, as translated by Dr. Powel; when speaking of the qualities of Gryffyth, he adds this remarkable passage, “and unworthy of that cruel death, that the ambitious desire of rule did provoke his unkind subjects, and unnatural coofsens, to prepare for so noble a prince, and so gentle a master as he was.”—This assertion, with the other leading circumstances in consequence of the transaction, will defend the author, he trusts, from the charge of severity or rashness.

† Historia Ingulphi, p. 68. Hovedon, p. 446.

† Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had by several women many children, Meredydh, Llywarch, Cadwgan, Madoc, Ririd, and Iorwerth. Welsh Chron. p. 111.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK V.

FROM THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN TO THE
DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN.

ALTHOUGH the late prince Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had left many children, Trahaearn ap Caradoc, his cousin, by the consent of the people, was raised to the throne of North Wales. Besides being himself a chieftain of eminence, he had some colourable pretence to that honour; having married Nêst, the daughter of Gryffyth ap Llewelyn.¹ A. D.
1073.

AMIDST other causes of evil arising to the Welsh from their indistinct ideas of government,² the little attention which they paid to hereditary succession was a source of infinite misery; the jarring claims of various competitors kept their different states

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 95, 105.

² It may be proper here to remark, that though the lineal succession was frequently interrupted, yet the Welsh always paid a regard to the same blood royal, except in the instance of Ædan ap Blegored.

in a continual ferment ; infused a deeper ferocity into the manners of the people, and weakened their power of resisting a sagacious and enterprising enemy.

Soon after the accession of Trahaearn, Gryffyd ap Cynan, the son of Jago ap Edwal, thought this a favourable opportunity of asserting his right to the crown ; from which he had been unjustly excluded by the late usurpations. This prince, during the late reigns, had sought refuge in Ireland, his mother being a native of that country ; and having procured aid from some of the Irish princes his kinsmen, he landed a body of troops in Anglesey, and soon reduced that island to his obedience.¹ Encouraged by his early success, and the support of some powerful chieftains,² Gryffidh passed over the straits of the Menai, and encamped his army in Caernarvonshire ; intending by degrees to penetrate farther into the country. Trahaearn, alarmed at this unexpected invasion, hastily raised what force he was able, and marched to attack his rival upon Bron-yr-Erw, near the castle of Harlech in Meirionnydh ; whom he defeated, and obliged to retire into Anglesey.³

RHYS AP OWEN, of the royal house of South Wales, and Rhytherch the son of Caradoc, were at this time the sovereigns of that principality. The tranquillity of their reign was early

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 112.

² Vita. Griff. fil. Conani, a manuscript life of that prince, written in the Welsh language, as is supposed, near the time in which he lived.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 113.

disturbed by an insurrection raised by Gronw and Llewelyn, the sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn ;¹ to revenge the murder committed on the late prince their grandfather. Though a victory was soon after obtained at Camdhwr in Caerdigan, by the two chieftains of Powys, it apparently produced no effect ; as Rhys remained the sole sovereign of South Wales, on the murder of Rhytherch his colleague. This event was followed by another enterprise undertaken by the sons of Cadwgan ; and though these princes obtained a second victory at Gwaynyttyd, it does not appear that this success produced any thing decisive in their favour ; as Rhys continued for some time longer to enjoy his government.²

A. D.
1074.

THE king of North Wales, having forced Gryffydd ap Cynan to fly into Anglesey ; and regarding the distracted state of South Wales as favourable to his designs of conquest, invaded that country. Rhys, supported by all the power of his subjects, marched to oppose the invader. A very fierce action ensued at Pwllgwttic, in which the army of South Wales was defeated ; and that prince, to avoid being taken prisoner, was forced to fly from one place to another ; until at length, falling into the hands of his enemies, he and his brother Howel, were murdered in revenge of the death of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn.³ Even in these miserable times, when private resentment superseded the sober decision of the laws, the sword of justice, though usurped, seldom suffered the guilty to escape ; as a keen sense of injury, and, what was deemed a sacred obligation, revenging the wrongs of

¹ Strength of the army.

² Welsh Chron. p. 113.

³ Ibid.

their

their ancestors, were principles essential in hereditary feuds, and were deeply engrafted in the manners of the Welsh.

IN this state of affairs, Rhys ap Tewdwr,¹ lineally descended from Howel Dha, and whose family had been long excluded from their rights by the capricious succession of the times, put
 A. D. 1077. in his claim to the crown; and was elected prince of South Wales by the unanimous voice of the people.²

GRYFFYDTH AP CYNAN, during these transactions, had received a reinforcement out of Ireland. A similarity of interests, having inclined this prince and Rhys ap Tewdwr to form an alliance, they joined their armies; resolving by every effort in their power to support each other, and to vindicate the rightful succession. To oppose an union so dangerous to his safety, Trahaearn ap Caradoc assembled his forces, and met the two princes upon the mountain of Carno;³ where an engagement ensued, disputed with the valour and obstinacy natural to rivals who had every thing to hope and to fear. In this action Trahaearn was
 A. D. 1079. slain, and his army defeated.⁴ This victory seated Gryffydd ap

¹ The son of Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dha.

² According to Vaughan of Hengwrt, the immediate territories of this prince were only the present counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen; as Pembroke, Brecknock, Gwent, or Monmouthshire, and Glewising or Herefordshire, being governed by their several Reguli; though, there is no doubt, but all these acknowledged the sovereign authority of South Wales. *British Ant. Reviv.* p. 7, 8. *Welsh Chron.* p. 114.

³ Called Mynydd Carn, on account of a large Carnedd upon it, covering the remains of a great warrior, who had in ancient times been slain and buried there.

⁴ Vita fil. Gryff. Conani. *Welsh Chron.* p. 114.

Cynan,

Cynan, and Rhys ap Tewdwr upon the thrones of their ancestors.' And thus, by a sudden turn in affairs, meeting, we suppose, the wishes of the people, was the lineal succession restored; which as long as it continued, was a means of softening the asperity of the times, and of increasing the national strength.

AFTER the late event, the king of North Wales invaded Powys, and laid waste that territory.* This prince's prosperity, however, was very soon embittered by a deep reverse of fortune. A native of Wales, called Meirion Goch, entered into a conspiracy to betray him into the hands of the English. Agreeably to the plan which had been previously concerted with the earls of Shrewsbury and Chester, a strong body of infantry and horse were stationed at Rug in Edeyrnion. The snare being laid, Gryffydh ap Cynan was desired by the treacherous Welshman, at the instance of the two English lords, to give them the meeting under the colour of a friendly conference. With a simplicity, which neither agreed with the character of the times, nor with the dictates of prudence, the Welsh king came to the place appointed, attended only by a few retainers whom he had brought out of Ireland. He had no sooner made his appearance, than he was seized, and carried in chains to the castle of Chester. His attendants were allowed to depart, without receiving any other injury than the loss of a thumb, which was

* Vita fil. Gryff. Conani. Welsh Chron. p. 114.

² Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 16. Vita fil. Griff. Conani.

cut off from the right hand of each. This instance of whimsical barbarity might arise from the instigation of Meirion Goch; who, from the prejudices of his country, would detest them as foreigners, and who might also resent the partiality which this prince had always entertained for the Irish.

GRYFFYD H remained many years in captivity; a confinement, no doubt, that was rendered more bitter, from a sense of his own inability of affording protection to his subjects; and of preventing the fatal innovations, which during that period, were taking place in South Wales and in Powys. The earl of Chester, having disarmed so formidable an enemy, committed dreadful ravages in North Wales; and in order to preserve the conquests he had made, and render his inroads more safe; he erected a fortress at Aberllienawg in Anglesey, one also at Caernarvon, another at Bangor, and another in Meirionydh; and all which he furnished with strong garrisons.¹

RESENTING, it is probable, the late inroad which the Welsh, in conjunction with Edric earl of Mercia, had made into the marches of England, William the Conqueror invaded their country with a powerful force. The Welsh princes, unable to oppose his arms, or awed by the influence of his mighty name, submitted without resistance to pay him homage; and to take the oath of fealty, as due from vassals to a superior lord.²

These

¹ Camden's Brit. p. 655. Vita Griff. fil. Conani.

² Math. Paris, p. 9. Lord Lyttelton says, that William, satisfied with this mark of vassalage, exacted no tribute as from a conquered country; the feudal laws regarding

These hostile intentions being set aside by their peaceable demeanour, king William, agreeably to that spirit of piety which in these days tinctured the mind of the fiercest warrior, marched with his army to the city of Saint David, and offered up his devotions at the shrine of that Saint.¹ A few years after his expedition into Wales, this great king died in Normandy; and was succeeded by William Rufus, his eldest son. On the death of the Conqueror, the spirit and genius of the Welsh nation revived, and with it revived also the variety of evils which are incident to intestine divisions.

A. D.
1079.
3th of Wil-
liam the
Conqueror.

A. D.
1087.

THE three sons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, desirous of recovering the sovereignty which they had lost by the murder of their father, and by the usurpation of Trahaearn ap Caradoc, raised an insurrection in South Wales against Rhys ap Tewdwr.² That prince not being able to oppose a force suddenly increased by numbers of men bred in the licentiousness of the times, retired into Ireland; and having powerful alliances in that country, he procured a body of troops composed of Irish and Scots; with which he returned into South Wales, and was joined by many of his own subjects. The princes of Powys, sensible that dispatch was the life of such an enterprise as theirs, by a rapid movement, attacked Rhys, on the sudden, at a place called Lhechryd in Radnor; and before his army was strengthened

regarding all as subjects who were admitted to homage, and of course exempting them from such impositions.

Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 49.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 115.

² Ibid. p. 117.

ed by the reinforcement which was hastening to join him. In the battle which ensued, fortune decided against the insurgents. Two of the brothers Madoc and Ririd were slain; and Cadwgan the other brother, saved his life by a precipitate flight. This commotion being fortunately ended, Rhys ap Tewdwr, with rewards expressive of his gratitude, dismissed his auxiliaries.¹

A. D. 1088. THE terror which had been impressed upon the minds of the Welsh, by the decisive character of the late English monarch, and which had unnerved the public arm, subsided with the death of that fierce warrior. Early in the reign of his son William Rufus an insurrection broke out upon the borders, excited by the earls of Hereford and Shrewsbury. The Welsh, eager to embrace the first favourable moment for the recovery of their liberties, joined the malecontent lords; and rushing with great fury upon the English marches, like a fire which had been long pent up, they ravaged and laid waste the country about Worcester,² to the gates of that city.³ They were however, in the event, repulsed with great slaughter, by the valour of the citizens, excited by the spirited conduct of Wulfstan their bishop.

AN incident happened at this time, springing from a trivial occurrence, which produced a change in the affairs of South

¹ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 110.

² Called by the Romans Brangonia, by the Britons Caer-Vrangon, and by the Saxons Worcester. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 26.

³ Annales Waverlenses, p. 136. Simon Dunelm, p. 214. Math. Paris, p. 12. Welsh Chron. p. 118.

Wales the most important and decisive; and which in some measure was the cause of the final ruin of Cambria. Llewelyn and Einion, chieftains of eminence in South Wales, and the sons of the lord of Pembroke, rose in rebellion against Rhys ap Tewdwr their sovereign; and they likewise drew into their treasonable designs Gryffyd ap Meredydh, another chieftain of the country. Having joined their forces, they marched to attack prince Rhys, who then resided at Llandudoch, in the county of Pembroke; where an action ensued, in which the rebels were defeated, and Gryffyd taken prisoner; the two other leaders having saved themselves by flight. The rebel chieftain was instantly put to death as a traitor;¹ the first instance we have seen, in these miserable times, of legal justice having dared to assert her prerogative.

EINION, desperate by the late event, and afraid to trust his safety with any of his own kindred, associated with Jestyn ap Gwrgaint, lord of Glamorgan;² between whom there was a similarity of situation and interest, he being at that time in arms against his sovereign. To bind themselves still more closely to each other, it was agreed that Einion should marry the daughter of Jestyn, on condition that he procured a body of Normans to assist in their enterprise; as that chieftain had served in the English armies, and had formed an acquaintance with the Norman nobility.³ Influenced by these powerful motives, Einion hastened into England:

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 119.

² The territory of *Morganwg*, or *Morgan*.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 119.

A. D.
1090. THE design was agreeable to the enterprising spirit of the age. The English princes too, had always employed in their various attempts of subjugating Wales, this principle of Machiavelian policy, *Divide et Impera*. And at this time, the treason of two men, coinciding with the views of Rufus, infused a fatal poison into the bosom of their country.

A. D.
1091. ROBERT FITZHAMMON, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber and baron of the realm, undertook the adventure. He selected for this enterprise twelve knights of considerable note, who agreed to serve under him with a large body of forces.¹ These troops, early in the following year, landed in Glamorgan, and were received with great honour by Jestyn the lord of that country; who joining his forces with the Normans, laid waste the territories of Rhys ap Tewdwr. At the time of this invasion the prince of South Wales was above ninety years old. With a spirit and activity uncommon at his age, he marched in person against the rebels; and meeting them upon the black mountain near Brecknock, after a severe and bloody conflict, his army was vanquished, and this ancient and gallant prince was himself slain in the action.² He left two sons by his wife, the daughter of Rhiwallon ap Cynvyn; Gryffyd, and another son, who at his father's death was a prisoner in England.³ In this manner died Rhys ap Tewdwr; attempting to repel the deepest oppres-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 119.

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 112. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 80. Polidore Virgil, lib. X. p. 171.

³ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 81. Welsh Chron. p. 120.

sion, and fighting for the independency of his country. With this warrior sunk the glory of the principality of South Wales; after whose death, betrayed by the vices of its own princes, and torn in pieces by foreign adventurers, it lost its ancient importance, and gradually fell into decay.

THE treason of the Welsh chieftains having thus attained so fortunate an issue, Jestyn kept all his engagements with the Normans very faithfully; not only dismissing them with the stipulated pay, but with presents suitable to the importance of their service. Einion demanded of Jestyn his daughter in marriage, agreeably to the promise he had made; but prosperity having rendered that chieftain proud and insolent, he rejected his suit, and even embittered the refusal by treating him with disdain. Repenting a conduct so faithless and ungrateful, Einion hastened after the Normans, in hopes of overtaking them before they had sailed. On his arrival at the sea shore, he found they were already embarked; and as he might not be heard at so great a distance, he waved his mantle as a signal for them to return. Fitzhammon and his knights immediately put to shore, to know the cause of so extraordinary a procedure. As soon as they had landed, Einion laid open his grievances, and likewise the facility of subduing a territory likely to remain unprotected by the Welsh princes; who must have seen with an eye of indignation the late conduct of Jestyn. Touched in some measure with the injuries of their friend; but still more, it is probable, with the prospect of possessing so fertile a country, Fitzhammon and his knights readily engaged in the views of Einion; and

contrary to every principle of honour, suddenly invaded the territory of Glamorgan. Little expecting such a turn of fortune, Jestyn was easily dispossessed of his territories.¹ They then proceeded to parcel out the domain agreeably to feudal ideas. Fitzhammon, reserving to himself the principal parts, with the seigniorship of the whole; gave the remainder of that province, to be held as fiefs under himself, to the twelve knights² who shared in the adventure; leaving the rough and barren mountains the property of Einion.³

IN this manner were the lords of the marches⁴ established in Wales; possessing in all cases, except the power of granting pardons for treason, *Jura regalia*. In the castle of Caerdiff*, the lords of Glamorgan usually kept their chancery, exchequer, and court; where the twelve knights, by their tenures, were obliged to attend one day in every month, having separate apartments in the castle for that purpose.⁵ Each of the other lordships had a

¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 80. Welsh Chron. p. 120. from Ran. Cest. lib. VII. cap. VII. Marianus Scotus.

² The castle and manor of Ogmores, was given to William de Londres; the lordship of Neath, to Richard Greenfield; that of Coyty, to Paine Turberville; Llan-Blethyan, to Robert St. Quintine; Talavan, to Richard Siward; the castle and manor of Penmare, to Gilbert Humfrevile; the castle and manor of Sully, to Reginald Sully; the manor of East Orchard, to Roger Berkrolles; that of Peterton, to Peter le Soor; that of St. George, to John Fleming; that of Fenvon, to John St. John; and the manor of St. Donats to William le Esterling. See Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 115.

³ Camden's Britannia, p. 609. Gibson's edit. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 80. Welsh Chron. p. 120.

⁴ An old English word signifying *boundary*. * *Caerdiff*, or city on the river *Tâf*.

⁵ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 115.

distinct jurisdiction; enjoying the same rights with that of Glamorgan, except in cases of wrong judgment, when an appeal might be made to the superior court. All disputes in matters of equity arising in the several lordships, were determined by the chancellor, in the chancery court of Glamorgan.¹

THE fortunate issue of the late adventure raised among the Norman nobility an ardent spirit of enterprise. The king of England threw powerful incentives in their way; alluring them by motives of interest and power, those strong incitements to human conduct. Several barons petitioned the crown for licence to possess, under homage and fealty, those territories which they might conquer in Wales. This liberty given to the English lords, of obtaining at their own charge the territories of the Welsh, though springing out of a wise policy, was apparently grounded on the absurd idea of forfeiture; because that people had renounced the allegiance, to which they had submitted through necessity, during the operations of Harold, and the decisive reign of the Norman conqueror.

THE situation of South Wales, rendered defenceless by the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, favoured the designs of these military adventurers. Among the foremost of whom was Bernard de Newmarche;² who easily took possession of the province of

Breck-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 122.

² Several gentlemen came at this time to Brecknock with Bernard de Newmarche; to whom he gave the following manors, which their heirs enjoy to this time; the manor of Abercynuric and Slowch to the Aubreys; the manor of Llanhamlach and

Brecknock, containing three cantrevs; and to colour his title with some degree of popularity, he married Nêst, a granddaughter of Gryffyd ap Llewelyn.¹ Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury was the next who did homage to the king for Caer-digan. Arnulph, the younger son of that nobleman, obtained likewise the great lordship of Pembroke.² In this easy manner, by the desultory enterprises of a few Norman lords, was the principality of South Wales subdued; the ancient seats of the *Dimetæ* and *Silures*; who, supported only by native bravery, had given a check to the Roman arms; and whose descendants had baffled, until this period, the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

THE kingdom of North Wales, and the principality of Powys, were not long secure from the incroaching spirit of the times. The earl of Shrewsbury did homage for all Powys; and brought under his subjection some districts in that territory; particularly the town and castle of Baldwyn.³ This important fortress he fortified more strongly; and called it Montgomery, after the name of his family.⁴ The principality of Powys from this period had little concern in the interests of Wales. The policy of England soon rendered that territory, which had been for ages a

Tal-y-Llyn to the Walbiers; the manor of Gilston to the Gunters; and the manor of Pontwilym to the Havards, &c. See Welsh Chron. p. 150. Camden's Britannia, p. 590. Gibson's edit.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 148.

² Ibid. p. 151.

³ Built by Baldwyn, lieutenant of the Welsh marches, in the reign of William the first. See Camden's Brit. p. 650. Gibson's edit.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 152.

barrier of defence, a dangerous neighbour upon the confines; and it became, by the defection of its princes, an instrument of mischief in the hands of the English against the national quiet and safety.

HUGH LUPUS, earl of Chester, likewise, did homage for Englefield and Rhyvonioc; with the country extending along the sea shore from Chester to the water of Conway. Ralph Mortimer did the same for the territory of Elvel; as did Hugh de Lacie for the lands of Euas; and Eustace Cruer for Mold and Hopedale.¹ These barons endeavoured to secure their conquests by erecting fortresses;² and, as far as they were able, by settling in them English or Norman inhabitants. At this time, Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Chester, were rebuilt, or fortified; and formed a line of military posts upon the frontiers.³ Thus the last asylum of the Britons was invested almost on every side, or broken into by their enemies. The kingdom of North Wales, at this time reduced to the island of Anglesey, to the counties of Meirionydd and Caernarvon, and to a part of the present counties of Denbigh and Caerdigan, still preserved the national character and importance. The natives of that country, aided by the virtue of their princes, became more formidable than ever to the English; and, at times, acquiring union with additional vigour from despair; their enemies, instead of being

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 151.

² Vaughan's British Ant. Reviv. p. 18.

³ Manuscript relating to the marches of Wales, in the possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq. of Gwernhaeled in Flintshire.

able to make new conquests, held those which they had already obtained by a precarious tenure.

THE late incidents having produced a striking change in the situation of Wales, and the lords of the marches having introduced into that country a new system of jurisprudence; some account of those lords, and of the system which they introduced, may be interesting to the reader. The conquest of Wales had been always a leading object in the politics of England; not only from the desire of more extensive dominions, but as a means of preventing in future the devastation and misery, which the animosity of a warlike and an injured people had produced on the English borders. The utility, likewise, of employing in foreign enterprises a martial nobility, inclined the Norman princes to encourage, by every incitement of advantage and honour, the dangerous designs of subduing, or of making settlements in Wales.

To enable the English lords to preserve the obedience of the people they had subdued, the kings of England allowed them to assume, in their several territories, an absolute jurisdiction.* But they did not hold this authority under any grant from the crown; it was only for the present connived at by the prince; and arose, as a wise measure, out of their particular situations. There is not, it is said, any record to be found in the Tower, or in other parts of England, of a grant having been given to any lord of the marches, to possess the authority annexed to that dig-

* Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life of Henry VIII.

nity. The king's writs, issuing out of the courts at Westminster, did not extend into any part of Wales; except into Pembroke, accounted at this time a portion of England; neither did the sheriffs, nor other officers of the king, execute his writs or precepts in any other part of the country.

THE high privileges incident to the lords of the marches, could not for many reasons be held by charter. The kings of England, when they gave to any baron such land as they might conquer from the Welsh, could not fix those immunities on any certain precinct; not knowing which, or whether any would be eventually subdued. The lords themselves were not solicitous to procure such immunities; as it frequently happened, that those estates of which they had taken possession, were afterwards recovered by the Welsh; either by composition with the kings of England, or by force of arms. Another cause of their not possessing any charters of prerogative, was; that such privileges, so high in their nature, so royal and united to the crown, could not by the laws of England be disunited from the same. It was therefore thought a wiser course, to suffer them to establish, of their own authority, such royal jurisdictions, rather than to hold them under a grant from the sovereign; which, if at any time called into question, might be adjudged of no force. Those lordships, which were conquered at the expence of the English princes themselves, were subject to a more regular jurisdiction; being governed in general by the laws of England.

* Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

THE lords of the marches, selecting the most agreeable and fertile parts of their territories, erected castles for their own residence; and towns for the accommodation of their soldiers. It was in this manner, that most of the present towns and castles on the frontier of Wales were built. This appears by the ancient charters given to such towns by those lords who first conquered, or founded them, expressive of immunities to the burghesses, and freemen; few or none of them having purchased such liberties from the kings of England till many years after; and when that was done, which was seldom the case, they were only confirmations of privileges granted them by their ancient lords. Among other towns and castles about this time built in Wales, were Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordwest; erected by Strongbo, William de Valence, and the Hastings. Newport was built by Martin, lord of Cemaes; the town and castle of Cydweli by Londres, and afterwards enlarged by the duke of Lancaster; the towns and castles of Swansea, Oystermouth, Loughor, Radnor, Buellt, and Rhaiadr, were erected by the Bruces, the Mortimers, and the Beauchamps; Blaen-llyvni by Herbert; Abergavenny by Dru de Baladon; and in after times, Ruthin by the lords Grey; and Denbigh by Lacie earl of Lincoln. The greatest part of these were ancient towns or castles before the Norman conquest; which had been either injured or destroyed by the devastations of war, or in the lapse of time.

The lords of the marches held under the kings of England, by the tenure of serving in wars with a certain number of their vassals;

vassals ; and of furnishing their castles with strong garrisons, and with all military implements.

THE English laws were for the most part administered in the marches of Wales ; their tenures, likewise, were principally English ; being transmitted by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of seisin. Some lords, from motives of prudence, permitted their tenants, who were natives of the country, to enjoy many of their ancient laws ; which were not repugnant to those of England, or injurious to their own interest. Among other concessions in favour of the Welsh, were, the usage of gavel-kind, and the transfer of land by surrender in court ; which gained admission into the jurisdiction of these lordships under the name of customs ; though anciently they had formed part of the common law of Wales. A sufficient number of people not being easily obtained to colonise the conquered countries, it was an obvious policy in the lords of the marches, to sooth the asperity of conquest, by allowing the Welsh to enjoy many of their ancient customs. As the mode of transfer, as well as the principles of succession, were different among the two people ; two courts were established in many lordships, in which the custom of each nation prevailed. There were, however, a few lordships, though entirely held by English tenures, in which the tenants were permitted the custom of gavel-kind, although they transmitted their lands by feoffment. These estates were said to be held by English tenure and by Welsh *dole*. In those lordships where the land was thus divided, and which was held by knights service, the lord had the wardship of all the sons, as well as daughters ;

daughters ; and as this was a point of great advantage, it might induce such lords to encourage in their tenants the custom of dividing their estates among their sons. In many lordships the Welsh laws were not in use, and English customs entirely prevailed. The whole jurisprudence depended entirely on the will of the first conquerors.

THE chief qualification of a lord of the marches, was, that he should hold of the king in *capite*. Though conquest was the general principle on which his right was founded, in some instances his dignity proceeded from a different cause ; as in the case of Powys ; a great part of which was never gained by conquest, but changed into lordships marchers by the following means. The princes of Powys, seeing the perilous situation of their country, and actuated by fear, or interested motives, made their submissions to Henry the first ; and agreed to hold under him their several territories ; paying the same obedience and duties, which the lords of the marches owed to the crown of England. Thus did several of the lordships in Powys differ from others ; in one point, however, they agreed ; that they did, and of necessity must, hold of the king in *capite*. This circumstance, together with renouncing obedience to the princes of Wales, was all that was at first expected by the kings of England from the lords of the marches. The barony of Powys had not any manors which held under it, like other lordships which were obtained by conquest ; and for the same reason there were neither knights fees, nor plow, nor ox lands in those lordships

ships; these divisions being introduced into Wales by the English and Norman lords; and were entirely unknown to the Welsh and to the ancient Britons.

HAVING thus given a short account of the introduction, and the nature of the lords marchers in Wales, established in the country at different periods, we shall reassume the subject of the history.

NORTH WALES had been left many years without a sovereign, in the power of the earl of Chester, and exposed to his merciless ravages. Since the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr no chieftain had arisen in South Wales to rekindle the spirit of patriotism; and that country, wrested, in a great measure, from the hands of its native princes, had been parcelled out among Norman adventurers.¹ In this state of things, when the prosperity of Wales appeared irretrievably lost, her fortunes were changed on a sudden, by the enterprising spirit of a few individuals, possessed of neither power nor consequence.

¹ This account of the lords marchers is taken from a manuscript in the possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq. of Gwernhaeled, in Flintshire.

² Brady relates out of Domesday, that William the Conqueror granted to Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, North Wales in farm at the rent of £40 per annum; besides Rhôs and Rhyvonioc. Page 201.

GRYFFYD H AP CYNAN had languished twelve years in captivity,¹ neglected by his subjects, or what is more probable, without their having had the ability to procure his release. The situation of this prince excited the compassion of a young man, named *Kynwric Hir*, a native of Edeyrnion; who determined, if possible, to effect his escape out of prison, though at every hazard to himself. The enterprise was bold, generous, and full of danger. Attended by a few followers he repaired to Chester, under pretence of purchasing necessaries; and having, early in the evening, gained admittance into the castle, while the keepers were deeply engaged in feasting, he carried on his back the captive prince, loaded with chains, and conveyed him with safety into his own dominions. It is with pleasure we contemplate an action, like this, heroic in itself, and directed by a principle of masculine virtue.

THOUGH Gryffydd ap Cynan had thus fortunately escaped out of the hands of his enemies, he had many difficulties still to encounter; as his own subjects were either dispirited, or alienated from him; and the English were masters of the country. His danger was sometimes so great, that he was obliged to lie concealed in woods and in other places of security; but after he had endured a variety of evils, and taken those castles which the Normans had erected during his captivity, he recovered the entire possession of his kingdom.²

¹ Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 656.

² Vita Griffith. fil. Conani.

IT was not likely that the impatient spirit of the Welsh, their sovereign having obtained his liberty, would remain quiet under the late usurpations. Gryffyd ap Cynan, fired with resentment for the miseries which he himself and his country had endured, with Cadwgan the son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, invaded the territory of Caerdigan; and slew great numbers of the English, who had lately settled in that country.* After this enterprise the two princes returned into their own territories.

THE Normans having procured a reinforcement out of England, proposed, by a sudden inroad into North Wales, to revenge the injuries they had lately sustained. This design was discovered by Cadwgan; and that prince, suddenly intercepting them as they marched through the forest of *Yspys*, defeated their forces, after an obstinate resistance, and obliged them to retreat with considerable loss. The rapid movements of the Welsh prince did not allow his enemies leisure to breathe. Pursuing them closely in their flight, and assisted by the general consternation, he laid waste the country of Caerdigan and Pembroke; demolished every fortress lately erected, except the castles of Pembroke and Rydcors; which by their strength, or the bravery of the garrisons, baffled his power. Having thus recovered, by so fortunate an enterprise, a great part of South Wales, Cadwgan returned into Powys.†

ELATED with such unusual prosperity, and animated by a spirit of patriotism, the king of North Wales, and the sons of

* Welsh Chron. p. 152. Brit. Antiq. Reviv'd by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

† Welsh Chron. p. 152.

Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, again united their forces. Not content with expelling the enemies of their country, they carried their arms into the marches of England; a spirit of ferocity directing their operations. The Welsh princes divided their forces into different parties; one of which was defeated by the earl of Shrewsbury.* The other bodies, not meeting with any resistance, with the force and impetuosity of mighty torrents, spread along the English borders devastation and ruin. The counties of Chester, Hereford, Worcester, and Salop, were laid waste. The cities, the towns, and many villages were plundered, or set on fire, or levelled with the ground; and, with a cruelty that dishonoured the justice of their cause, the inhabitants, without any distinction of age or of sex, were carried away prisoners, or perished by the sword.

A. D.
1094.
7th of Wil-
liam Rufus.

WILLIAM RUFUS, inflamed with resentment, that a people, who had yielded a tame submission to his father, should dare to condemn his authority, and attack him in his own dominions, raised a great army, and marched in person into the confines of Wales. The Welsh with great spirit repulsed his attacks; and after losing great numbers of horses and men, he was forced to return with dishonour into England to reinforce his army. Flushed with their success, the Welsh princes, on the retreat of the English, ventured to lay siege to the castle of Montgomery; reputed the strongest and the best fortified of any in Wales. The Normans gallantly defended the place for many

* *Annales Waverlenses*, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Historiæ.

days;

days; but the Welsh, having found means to undermine the walls, took it by storm; and after putting the garrison to the sword, levelled that fortress with the ground.*

ONE common spirit of asserting their freedom animated the Welsh at this fortunate moment. The English, who inhabited South Wales, were attacked in their different settlements; and after some desultory resistance, were obliged to evacuate the country. In the course of these hostilities, Roger Montgomery A. D. 1094. earl of Salop, William Fitzmaurice earl of Gloucester, and other English noblemen were slain.* Thus at length did this gallant people, whose spirit had long been depressed by the hand of power, recover, with somewhat like elastic force, the importance of their ancient character.

THOUGH the Normans had been driven out of South Wales, they were in no measure reconciled to the loss of their fertile possessions. They provided fresh soldiers to garrison the different castles which they had erected in the country; besides furnishing each of them with a proper stock of provisions. Returning into South Wales, once more to contend for the prize with the native inhabitants, they were assailed by the sons of Ednerth ap Cadwgan, and driven back into England with great slaughter. Their several fortresses, after a spirited defence made by the

* Brompton's Chron. p. 991. Simon Dunelm, p. 220. Polydore Virgil, p. 273. Walter Hemingford Canon of Gislebourne, p. 465. Annales Waverleienfes, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Historiæ.

* Welsh Chron. p. 154.

garrisons, were yielded up to the Welsh; who for some time were left in quiet possession of a great part of the country. At the same time, two chieftains of North Wales, joining their forces with those of the sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, one of the princes of Powys, made an inroad into Pembroke, then in the possession of Arnulph the son of Roger Montgomery; and after having laid waste the whole country, they returned into their respective territories enriched with plunder. The castle of Pembroke, lately erected by the above-mentioned lord, had baffled all the attempts of the Welsh; that fortress having been gallantly defended by Gerald de Windsor, the governor.*

A. D. 1096.
9th of Wil-
liam Rufus. THE late disasters, and the disgrace which he in person had received, excited in the fierce mind of Rufus the keenest indignation. He entered Wales, a second time, at the head of a royal army. During his march, the activity of the Welsh cut off his provisions, harrassed his troops, and considerably diminished his numbers both in men and horses; for, keeping aloof in the woods and marshes, or on the tops of the mountains, they suddenly attacked the English, with great advantage, in the defiles of the country, and in the passages of rivers.† And such was the valour of the Welsh, and such the conduct of their leaders; so great were the difficulties likewise which Rufus found in attempting to penetrate through the country, or in drawing the enemy to a battle, that in despair he gave up the enterprise;

* Welsh Chron. p. 154.

† Brompton's Chron. p. 992. Matth. Westm. lib. II. fol. 12. Polydore Virgil, p. 174.

and after refortifying some castles upon the borders, returned with additional disgrace into England.¹

THE late exertions of the Welsh, and the prosperous turn in their affairs, must surely give pleasure to every reader of sentiment, who feels a tender concern for the interests of humanity; and who has seen a spirit of private rapacity, directed by the policy of England, and acting in concert with its power, entrenching on the natural rights of a people, inferior in every means of resource, and whose only support was the justice of their cause, and an ardent valour inspired by freedom.

DISCOMFITURE and disgrace having of late attended on the arms of England, a different mode of conducting the war was adopted. Many of the Norman nobility were encouraged to undertake, at their own charge, the conquest of the Welsh; and about this time, or before, many barons had acquired considerable settlements, in those parts of Wales which had been lately subdued, or along the frontiers of the country. Among others, Peter Corbet settled on the lordship of Caurs; Mortimer on Wigmore, Fitz Alen on Clun and Oswestry, Monthault on Hawarden, Fitzwarren on Whittington, Roger le Strange on Elefmere, Drude Baladon on Abergavenny, and Gilbert on Monmouth.²

AT the secret instigation of Owen ap Edwyn, lord of Englefield, and of other chieftains in North Wales, a very formidable

A. D.
1096.

¹ Brompton's Chron. Matt. West. Polydore Virgil.

² Manuscript treatise on the marches, in possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq.

army invaded that country, under the command of the earls of Chester¹ and Shrewsbury.² Gryffyd, the king of North Wales, and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, not being able on a sudden to collect a force sufficient to oppose them, and not having the necessary confidence in their troops, gave way for a time, and retired to the mountains for security. The two earls, meeting with no resistance, continued their march into that part of Caernarvonshire which lies opposite to Anglesey. Gryffyd ap Cynan, seeing the danger which threatened the seat of his government, passed over the water of Menai, attended by his associate Cadwgan; and having received a slight reinforcement out of Ireland, he seemed determined to defend the island.³ At this critical moment, Owen ap Edwyn, whose daughter had married the Welsh king, and who was likewise his principal minister, openly avowed his treason, and joined the English army with his forces. The Welsh princes, alarmed at the perfidy and revolt of so powerful a chieftain, and unable to oppose the united force of the enemy, withdrew into Ireland.⁴ No longer protected, the island of Anglesey fell an easy prey to the English; who poured upon the inhabitants the full measure of retaliation for the cruelties which had been lately committed in the borders of England. It is painful to relate the singular and savage barbarities exercised on this occasion; resembling more the deliberate malice of ruffians, than the impetuosity of soldiers. Some of these people had their hands cut off, others their feet; some had their eyes

¹ Hugh *Vras*, or the fat earl of Chester.

² Called by the Welsh Hugh *Goch*, or Hugh with the red head.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 155.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 155.

pulled out, others were castrated, and great numbers were massacred. A priest of the name of Kenred, venerable for his years and his wisdom, having taken sanctuary in a church, the earl of Shrewsbury commanded him to be taken from thence; ordered one of his eyes to be pulled out, his tongue to be cut, and caused him likewise to be deprived of his manhood.* We should have drawn a veil over such a scene of barbarity, if the design of history had been only to adorn a story; and not to point the instructive moral, or to delineate, with a faithful pencil, the portraiture of men and manners.

THE safety of North Wales, at this perilous crisis, depended upon a train of fortuitous circumstances. Magnus ~~the~~ son of Harold king of Norway, having taken possession of the Orkneys and of the Isle of Man, arrived accidentally upon the coast of Anglesey. Hearing of the cruelties committed by the English, and touched with a sense of generous pity, he determined to land his forces, and to preserve the miserable inhabitants from destruction.† The English endeavoured to oppose the Norwegians. In the attempt, the earl of Shrewsbury was slain. The prince of Norway, observing that nobleman resolute in opposing his landing, and whose impetuous valour had carried him into the sea, levelled an arrow; which through the opening of his armour pierced his right eye, and reaching his brain, he fell down convulsed into the water. The Norwegian prince, on seeing him

* Brompton's Chron. p. 994. Fabian, p. 315.

† Welsh Chron. p. 156. Vit. Griffithi. fil. Conan.

fall, exultingly cried, "Let him dance."¹ This accidental stroke of justice, seen by the eye of superstition, made the Welsh to conclude, that the arrow had been directed by the immediate hand of the Almighty.

THE death of the earl of Shrewsbury produced some disorder among the English, and obliged them to abandon the shore. The earl of Chester, on this disaster, suddenly retreated into England; leaving Owen ap Edwyn to enjoy for a time the fruits of his treason. The Norwegians finding that the English had not left any thing to plunder, immediately re-embarked.² This attempt was the last enterprise of any of the northern nations, to plunder or to subdue this country.³

A. D.
1098.

AFTER an absence of two years in Ireland, Gryffyd ap Cynan, attended by Cadwgan, returned into Wales; and concluded a peace with the English, upon terms of great disadvantage. The dominions of Gryffyd, by this treaty, were reduced to the island of Anglesey; and Cadwgan retained only the territory of Caer-digan, and a small part of Powys.⁴ Unacquainted as we are with the springs of action, it is not easy to account for the long absence of Gryffyd; or to trace in his present conduct any marks of that vigour, and decision of character, which distinguished the early operations of his reign.

¹ Girald. Cambr. Itin. cap. VII. Sim. Dunelm. p. 223. ² Welsh Chron. p. 156.

³ Hume's Hist. Eng. In the course of this expedition, the earl of Chester rebuilt the castle of Diganwy, the seat of the ancient princes of Wales. King's Vale Royal of Cheshire, p. 48.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 156.

It might seem, as if some degree of retaliative justice, distinguished the death of William Rufus king of England ; who was slain by accident, as he was hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire. His younger brother, Henry the first, succeeded to the English crown.

A. D.
1100.

ROBERT BELESMO, the son of Roger Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, and Arnulph his brother earl of Pembroke, having engaged in rebellion against Henry, drew into their treasonable designs Meredydh, Cadwgan, and Jorwerth ; the three princes of Powys, and sons to the late king Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. The English king marched in person with a large army against them ; and repairing to the marches of Wales, laid siege to the castle of Bridgenorth. Finding this fortress too strong, on account of its situation and warlike appointments, to afford him the prospect of reducing it easily, he sent privately to Jorwerth, one of the Welsh princes ; in hopes, by such motives as were likely to touch his resentment, or his interest, to detach him from the rebels, and incline him to engage in his service. He offered him the territories which the two earls possessed in Wales, without paying tribute, or taking any oath of allegiance ; and at the same time, he recalled to his memory the many and deep injuries which his country had received from the families of those lords. These offers, artfully directed to the feelings of the Welsh prince, were gladly accepted. Jorwerth immediately joined the king ; and with the usual animosity of a deserter, detached his troops to ravage the estates of the two English earls. The perfidy of his conduct threw his brothers and the rebel lords into the utmost

A. D.
1101.

dismay; they despaired of being able to make head against the king, and, within a little time after, the confederacy was dissolved.*

As soon as king Henry had returned into England, Jorwerth arrested his brother Meredydh, and confined him in prison; his other brother Cadwgan he took into favour, and gave him the territory of Caerdiff, and a part of Powys. He then repaired to the English court, in full confidence of receiving from Henry a suitable recompence for the services he had lately performed. The king, however, wanting no longer his assistance, not only received him with great coldness, but deprived him also of those territories which he had received as the reward of his treachery; and he was dismissed from the court covered with shame and disappointment.² Richard de Belmarsh the bishop of London, was, at this time, appointed *Warden* of the marches. This prelate summoned Jorwerth to attend him at Shrewsbury, under pretence of consulting about public affairs; but as soon as the Welsh prince made his appearance, he was arrested for treason, found guilty of the real or alledged charge, and committed to prison.³ The distrust of a traitor, and the dread of the effects arising from disappointed ambition, were no doubt the real motives which produced his disgrace.

A. D.
1102.

A SERIES of feuds and hostilities, unpleasing in the recital, arise, at this period, in the history of Wales. These intestine divisions, too descriptive of the manners of the Welsh, were the

* Welsh Chron. p. 158.

² Ibid. p. 159.

³ Ibid. p. 160.

means of accelerating the ruin of their states; destroying by degrees their union and their strength, and affording opportunities to the English kings of detaching the Welsh chieftains from the interests of their country.

CADWGAN AP BLEDDYN, in the Christmas holidays, invited the chieftains who resided in the country adjacent, to a feast at his castle in some part of Pembroke. In the course of their festivity, *mead*, the wine of this country, having raised their spirits, Nêst^a the wife of Gerald, the governor of Pembroke castle, was spoken of in terms of admiration; the beauty and elegance of whose person, it was said, exceeded those of any lady in Wales. The curiosity of Owen the son of Cadwgan was strongly excited to see her; and he had little doubt of obtaining admittance, as there was a degree of relationship subsisting between them. Under colour of a friendly visit, the young chieftain, with a few of his attendants, was introduced into the castle. Finding that Fame had been cold in her praise, he returned home deeply enamoured of her beauty, and fired with an eager desire of enjoying her. The same night, returning with a party of his retainers, as daring and dissolute as himself, he secretly entered the castle; and in the confusion produced by setting it on fire, surrounded the chamber in which Gerald and his wife slept. Awaked by the noise, Gerald rushed out of bed to inquire into the cause of the disturbance. His wife, alarmed at the danger which threatened her husband, prevented his opening the door; and advising him to retire to the Privy, she assisted him in pulling up the

A. D.
1108.

^a Camden's Brit. p. 630, Gibson's edit.

board; by which means, and her farther assistance, he let himself down, and made his escape. The ruffian and his followers then broke open the chamber door; and after a diligent search, not finding Gerald, they seized his wife and two of his sons, besides a son and a daughter which he had by a concubine; then leaving the castle in flames, and ravaging the country, he carried off Nêst and the children into Powys. This adventure gave Cadwgan the greatest uneasiness. Afraid lest Henry might revenge on his head the atrocious action of his son, he came into Powys; and requested Owen that he would send back to Gerald his wife and children, as well as the plunder which he had taken. The young chieftain, whose love was heightened by the possession of his mistress, refused to restore her. Whether she yielded to the violence of her lover from choice or from necessity, is uncertain; but he soon after sent back to Gerald all his children, at her particular request.*

A. D.
1108.

OWEN being afraid of receiving from the warden of the marches the punishment due to such an outrage, escaped with all his associates into Ireland. His father Cadwgan secreted himself for a time in Powys; but having satisfied king Henry of his innocence concerning the late affair, he was permitted to remain in his own country, and to enjoy the town and estates which he held in right of his wife; he was some time after reinstated in the possessions which had belonged to him in Caerdigan, on paying to the king a fine of one hundred pounds.

* Welsh Chron. p. 164. and Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 129.

* Welsh Chron. p. 165.

AFTER many years confinement, Jorwerth ap Bleddyn was released out of prison, and restored to his territory; on his paying a fine of three hundred pounds in money, or of that value in cattle or horses.¹

Soon after his release, this prince and his brother Cadwgan repaired to England, to transact with Henry some affairs of their own.² During their absence, Owen the son of Cadwgan, who was just arrived out of Ireland, and whose turbulent spirit was always in motion, murdered a bishop, with all his attendants, on his journey to the English court;³ and then retired for security into his father's territories. This outrage being reported to Henry, Cadwgan was called to answer for the conduct of his son; but the excuses he made not having satisfied the king, his estates were taken from him; that prince telling him, at the same time, that his territories should be given to one, who with a firmer hand, would be able to restrain such disorders. He settled on him a pension for life; and charged him on his allegiance, not to enter into any part of Wales until licence should be given.

A. D.
1109.

THE territory of the Welsh prince was given to Strongbow earl of Strigil, on the usual condition of obtaining possession by the sword. This baron soon after landing in Caerdigan, easily accomplished his views of conquest; and to render his possessions more secure, he erected two fortresses; one of which he built on the sea shore, about a mile from Llanbadarn, and the other at a place called Dingeraint, on the river Teivi.⁴

A. D.
1109.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 166, 167, 168.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. p. 169.

MADOC AP RIRID,* a cousin, and a wild associate of Owen, the savage chieftain of Powys, returned out of Ireland. Having secreted himself in the territory of his uncle Jorwerth, that prince, dreading the recent fate of his brother Cadwgan, gave orders to his vassals that they should treat his nephew as an enemy. Madoc, upon this, collected a body of outlaws; with whom he lay concealed amidst the rocks and recesses of the woods, waiting for an opportunity of revenging the affront. He likewise entered into a friendship with Llywarch ap Trahaearn, between whom and the family of his uncle, subsisted a deadly feud. Having intelligence that Jorwerth intended, on a certain night, to sleep at Caereinion in the county of Montgomery, the two chieftains with their followers surrounded the place at midnight. The Welsh prince and his attendants, starting from their sleep, defended the house with much spirit a considerable time. The assailants, unable to make any impression, set it on fire. In this extremity, the people within endeavoured to make their escape; in doing which, some of them had the good fortune to push through the enemy, others were slain in the attempt, and the remainder were burned in the house. Jorwerth himself, attempting to force his way, rushed on the spears of the assailants; but being overpowered, he was driven back, and perished in the flames.

As soon as Henry heard of this ferocious transaction, calling Cadwgan into his presence, he received that prince into favour;

* Ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn.

and gave him the territory which his late brother had possessed in Powys; and, from motives which do not appear, he even extended his grace unto Owen, desiring his father to send for him out of Ireland; whither he had fled on account of the late murder of the bishop.'

MADOC, finding his uncle Cadwgan in possession of his late brother's territories, though his hands had been already stained with the blood of one kinsman, determined the first opportunity to imbrue them still deeper, by the murder of his other uncle Cadwgan. This prince, having reduced his territories, in some degree, to a state of tranquility, by a strict administration of justice, repaired to Pool * in Montgomeryshire, attended by the elders of the country; where he began to erect the castle of Powys, in which he intended to reside. During his residence at Pool, he was on a sudden assaulted by his nephew Madoc, and basely murdered before he had time to fly, or even to prepare for his defence. Thus died, after a variety of fortunes, Cadwgan the son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; dignified by Camden with the title of the renowned Briton; a prince, whose valour, sense of justice, and other milder virtues, might, in any age but this, have exempted him from a death so cruel, and so unworthy of his character.

ON the murder of his uncle, Madoc applied to the warden of the marches for land which had been formerly promised him; and that officer, influenced by the resentment he had borne to

* Welsh Chron. p. 170, 171.

* Trallwng.

Cadwgan and his family, granted his request; and what is still more singular, king Henry received the ruffian into favour, upon his paying a fine.¹

A SERIES of retaliated injuries arise in regular succession; evils naturally springing from the passions when they usurp the sword of justice. Meredydh, the only surviving son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, caused an inroad to be made in the territory belonging to Llywarch ap Trahaearn, who had been accessory to the murders lately committed on his brothers. Passing in the night through the land of Madoc ap Ririd, the retainers of Meredydh meeting a vassal in the service of that chieftain, inquired for his master; the man at first affecting ignorance, was threatened with instant death; he then gave them intelligence that his chief was in a place at no great distance. Early in the morning, the party surrounded Madoc, slew many of his followers, and brought him prisoner to Meredydh; who sent to his nephew Owen to decide his fate. That chieftain, reflecting that he himself had been, in various adventures, an associate of Madoc, and that they were united by oath in the bonds of friendship, determined not to put him to death; though with a whimsical refinement in mercy, he satisfied his revenge by putting out his eyes.² Incidents like these, arising from the collision of contending parties, present, in sanguinary tints, a lively picture of barbarism.

A. D.
1112.

A. D.
1112.
12th of
Henry I.

IN the course of these events, Henry the king of England had an opportunity of giving to his territories in South Wales,

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 170, 171.

² Welsh Chron. p. 172.

an increase of security and strength, of the most beneficial and stable nature. In the reign of his father a great number of Flemings, having been driven out of their habitations by a very uncommon inundation, had come over into England. That king had entertained them with much cordiality, from just notions of policy; to increase, by such a number of useful inhabitants, the riches and strength of his kingdom. Many of these people, having been dispersed in different parts of his dominions, began by their numbers to create some uneasiness; which Henry removed by settling them as a colony in South Wales; where he gave them the country adjoining to Tenby and Haverfordwest, in which their posterity remain to this day.*

THE king of North Wales, for some time past, had never done homage, nor had paid tribute to the crown of England. Having lately overcome his foreign enemies, Henry, received complaints from the earl of Chester, that frequent devastations had been committed on his territories by Gryffydd ap Cynan, and by Gronw the son of Owen ap Edwyn the lord of Englefield. Similar complaints had been likewise made by the earl of Strigil, to whom Henry had lately given Caerdigan; that Owen the son of Cadwgan kept a number of retainers, who frequently plundered and infested his country.† On these complaints, Henry swore in his anger, that he would not leave a Welshman alive in North Wales, or in Powys; that he would exterminate

* Wm. Malmſbury, p. 158. Girald. Camb. Itin. lib. I. cap. XI. Verſtegan, chap. IV. p. 100. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 58.

† Welsh Chron. p. 173.

the nation; and would settle in each country new inhabitants out of his own dominions. To execute this threat, he drew together, from different parts of his kingdom, a very considerable force; and Alexander the Fierce, who then reigned in Scotland, served under him in person.

A. D.
1114.
14th of
Henry I.

THREE armies were formed; one of which, composed of a large body of Scots, and the power of the north, under the conduct of the Scottish king, and the earl of Chester, was designed for the conquest of North Wales; another, consisting of the strength of Cornwall, and a fourth part of England, led by the earl of Strigil, was ordered to invade those parts of South Wales which were still possessed by the natives; and a third, taking in the flower of his military vassals in the middle part of his dominions, was commanded by the king of England himself, with which he proposed to subdue all Powys. Never was the Welsh nation, to all appearance, in such danger as at this period; the storm gathering from different quarters, seemed ready to burst, and to overwhelm it in ruin.

INTIMIDATED at the prospect, Meredydh the son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, delivered himself up to the mercy of Henry; and his nephew Owen the son of Cadwgan fled to Gryffyd ap Cynan. The king, on this turn in affairs, changing his first design, and directing all his force against North Wales, advanced himself to Murcastell; and the king of Scots, in concert with him, penetrated as far as Pennant Bachwy. The inhabitants, as usual, retired to the mountains; and by the prudent orders of
their

their king, having carried away their cattle and provisions, such a large army could not pursue them for want of subsistence, as well as from the natural difficulties of the country: and the English parties who attempted to do it, were attacked by the Welsh in the defiles of the mountains, and were either cut to pieces, or repulsed with great loss.*

UNABLE to penetrate the country, with safety to his troops, or with credit to his arms, Henry had recourse to the arts of negotiation. The king of Scotland was made the first instrument in carrying on the design. He proposed to Gryffyth ap Cynan; that if he would appear and yield himself up, he should be taken into Henry's favour. But the Welsh king, aware of the delusive nature of such a promise, refused to lay down his arms. On the failure of this negotiation, the earl of Chester was then sent to Gryffyth ap Cynan, to procure, if possible, his submission to king Henry; and in order more effectually to promote the design, he insinuated that Owen ap Cadwgan had already made his peace with the English monarch. Incensed at the supposed perfidy of his confederate, the king of North Wales agreed to lay down his arms; for they had taken an oath, that neither party should conclude a peace, or make submission to the English prince, without the consent of the other. He also agreed to pay a large sum of money to king Henry; as a compensation, perhaps, for the ravages which had been lately committed in Cheshire. At the same time, Meredyth, under the pretence of treachery in the king of North Wales, brought over Owen his nephew.

* Welsh Chron. p. 173.

The means of intercourse having been prevented by Meredydh, the two Welsh princes became the dupes of this artifice; and each of them made a separate peace with the king of England.¹ It gives us a striking idea of the valour of the Welsh, and of the exceeding difficulty of subduing their country by force, to see a prince, so potent as Henry the first, glossing over by a dishonourable subterfuge, real disgrace and disappointment. For where was the advantage resulting from the war? No homage or tribute appears to have been acknowledged or paid, nor any new territory obtained; no extermination of the inhabitants, as he proudly menaced; no new colonies established in North Wales, or in Powys.

THE busy theatre of South Wales presents, at this period, a new and an interesting character. Gryffyd the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, who, on the death of his father, had been conveyed for safety into Ireland, remained in that country until he was twenty-five years of age. Desirous, then, of recovering the dignity which his ancestors had possessed, he came privately into South Wales, under the pretence of visiting Nêst his sister; who some time before had been concubine to king Henry, and had borne two sons to that monarch.² After her connection with Henry had ceased, Gerald de Windsor, a gentleman of much estimation for his valour and conduct, then governor of Pembroke castle, obtained her in marriage; and, on that account,

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 174.

² Girald. Cambr. Itin. cap. XII. says one son. Brady's Hist. Eng. reign of Henry I. p. 171, says two sons.

was appointed lieutenant over a part of that province. This lady was the same person, whose beauty had so lately excited Owen the son of Cadwgan to the act of violence already mentioned. With his sister, and his other kinsmen, Gryffyd.h remained two years. But Henry's jealousy did not allow this prince to continue long unmolested. For suspicions arising that he began to carry on intrigues with the Welsh, who regarded him as the restorer of their ancient freedom, and that his secret design was to recover his kingdom, orders were sent to have him arrested. When Gryffyd.h ap Rhys had intelligence of this design, he implored the protection of the king of North Wales; who assured him, that for the friendship he had borne to his father, he should be cordially received, and should remain in perfect security within his dominions.¹ At the same time, Howel, the brother of the young prince, having been long a prisoner, made his escape out of the castle of Montgomery; and though sorely maimed, fled, as to a friendly asylum, to the court of Gryffyd.h ap Cynan.²

HENRY, having heard of these events, and dreading the effects if drawn into precedent, of the protection which had been yielded to Gryffyd.h ap Rhys³ in North Wales, sent a letter to Gryffyd.h ap Cynan; expressing in terms of courtesy and friendship, a desire of seeing him in England. Pleased with the flattering attention of so potent a monarch, he repaired to Henry's court; and was there received with honour and with much hos-

A. D.
1115.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 175.

² Ibid.

³ Or *hero*.

pitality, with the addition also of presents in jewels, and other valuable effects, to a considerable amount. Having thus given a reception to the Welsh king, which might flatter his vanity, or gratify his avarice, Henry, one day, laid open his design; representing to him the evils which might arise from giving protection to the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, whose ambition was likely to disturb the peace of all Wales; and offering, at the same time, the most splendid rewards, if he would send either the person or the head of the young prince into England.* A mind less savage than that of a barbarian must feel some reluctance, before it could resolve to give up as a victim to the cruel and interested policy of Henry, an orphan prince who had sought his protection. But the sacred obligations of honour and of justice, the ties of friendship and the feelings of humanity, with every idea of prudence and patriotism, were, on this occasion, annihilated.

THE friends of Gryffyd ap Rhys, suspecting some evil from the late singular proceedings, advised him and his brother Howel to withdraw themselves; that they might have an opportunity of observing the conduct of Gryffyd ap Cynan upon his return into Wales. On the arrival of that prince at his palace of Aberffraw, he enquired for Gryffyd ap Rhys; but was informed that he had retired from the court. Discovering the place of his retreat, the king sent out a body of horsemen to take him prisoner, and to conduct him back; but fortunately the young prince had notice of the design, though he had scarcely time

* Welsh Chron. p. 176.

to take sanctuary in the church of Aberdaron; a privileged place in the present county of Caernarvon.¹ The king of North Wales, having violated more sacred laws, had no scruple to infringe the privileges of sanctuary; and commanded Gryffyd ap Rhys to be taken out of his asylum by force. In this unpopular attempt his authority had no weight; for the clergy of that country, eager to defend their immunities, so effectually resisted the endeavours of his soldiers, that they were not able to execute his orders. In the night, the partisans of the young prince secretly conveyed him to Strath Towi, a deep forest in South Wales; where having collected the adherents of his family, he meditated hostilities against the Normans and Flemings.²

THE first enterprise of Gryffyd ap Rhys, was to destroy several castles belonging to the English. But, his forces increasing, he extended his ravages into Pembroke; and even menaced with a siege the castle of Caermarthen, which Henry had made the principal seat of government. The Norman officers, who had the charge of this fortress, judging that their own strength was insufficient to maintain the place, sent for the Welsh chieftains who were vassals to Henry; and, requiring each of them to defend it by turns for fourteen days, committed the castle to their custody. Owen the son of Caradoc, whose mother was daughter to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, was the first to undertake its defence. Gryffyd ap Rhys, having sent spies to reconnoitre the situation of the place, suddenly invested it, being told that the works were

A. D.
1116.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 176.

² Ibid.

affailable. A shout which his troops set up as they advanced to the assault, gave Owèn notice of his danger ; upon which, that chieftain, depending upon the support of his garrison, rushed forward to oppose the enemy ; but being deserted by his soldiers, he was slain in the action, valiantly fighting upon the ramparts. The town was taken and demolished ; the castle was only dismantled. The young prince, then, retreated with considerable booty to his post in the forest of Strath Towi ; from whence he frequently issued, with the fierceness of a tiger, and ravaged the country around.

THE spoils his followers had lately obtained, and the fame which he himself had acquired, drew to his standard great numbers of men, whose age and spirit were congenial with his own ; and who, admiring his activity and courage, were in full confidence that he would soon recover his father's dominions. Thus reinforced, Gryffyd lost no time in pursuing his success, and soon made himself master of two fortresses more belonging to the English ; one of which was the castle of Gwyr, and the other the property of William de Londres. After this enterprise, he again retired to his strong situation with the cattle and plunder he had taken.

THESE successes had considerably raised the reputation of Gryffyd ap Rhys. In consequence of which, the chieftains of Caerdigan espoused his cause, and submitted to his government ; looking up to him as the guardian of his country, and calling on him to free them from the odious and ignominious tyranny
of

of foreigners. Much pleased with the invitation which these chieftains had sent him, he entered their territories, and was received by them with great cordiality and honour.¹ The prosperity of his arms was equal to the rapidity of his movements. He suddenly came to Caerdigan Iscoed, and laid siege to a fortress, which the earl of Strigil had erected at Blaen Porth Gwithan in that neighbourhood; and after a severe contest and sustaining many terrible assaults, though with the loss only of one of his own soldiers, the place was at length taken, and burned to the ground. As far as Penwedic the same devastation attended the deserted houses of the English inhabitants; who, struck with dismay, had fled from the fury of the Welsh. He then laid siege to a fortress called Strath-Peithyll in Caerdigan, belonging to the steward of the earl of Strigil; which he took by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. Advancing to Glasgrig, he there encamped to give his forces a day's rest. Near this place was the church of Llanbadarn, one of those sanctuaries which possessed very high privileges; and in which the cattle, feeding within certain precincts, were regarded as sacred.² Out of this asylum he ventured to take some cattle to refresh his army; an impolitic, though it might be a necessary measure; as it was likely to injure his reputation with his countrymen, by wounding their religious feelings. He then proposed on the following day to lay siege to the castle of Aberystwyth. The governor, acquainted with the design, sent to Strath-Meyric,^{*} a neighbouring fortress, for a reinforcement; which during the night was safely

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 178.² Ibid. p. 179.^{*} *Ystrad Meirig.*

conveyed into the castle.¹ Ignorant of this, Gryffyd ap Rhys preserved no order among his troops, and confident of success, appeared before the place; but being drawn into an ambuscade laid for him by the governor, his forces were defeated with much slaughter, and he himself compelled to quit that province.² He, however continued some time longer to maintain himself in the forest of Strath-Towi.³ The conduct of this prince, which brightened his early life, promised to open with still greater lustre; but the disaster he had lately experienced, or, perhaps, a diminished reputation, seems to have given a check to his career, and to have cooled the ardor of his enterprising spirit.

A. D.
1116.

UNABLE to subdue this prince by open hostilities, Henry had recourse to measures, wicked in their principles, and marking a mean and narrow policy. He sent orders to Owen the son of Cadwgan, one of the late princes of Powys, to repair to the English court. On his arrival, the king expressed much confidence in his fidelity; and desired him, on strong assurances of recompence, to assassinate Gryffyd ap Rhys, or to take him prisoner. That chieftain, whose savage manners rendered him suitable for such an employment, gladly accepted the commission. Returning into Wales, he engaged in the same odious design Llywarch ap Trahaearn, a chieftain of that country; and with their joint forces they marched towards the forest of Strath-Towi, to form a junction with Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry by Nêst his late concubine; whom the king his

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 179.

² Ibid. p. 180.

³ Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. vol. II. p. 61.

father.

father had sent to give vigour to an enterprize, the design of which was the murder of his uncle. The ruffians being arrived on the confines of the forest, they bound themselves in a solemn engagement, not to suffer man, woman, or child, who inhabited that district, to escape alive out of their hands. The people of that country, hearing of this savage resolution, left their habitations, to hide themselves in caves, and amidst rocks and woods; while others sought refuge even in the castles belonging to the Normans.

IN order to facilitate their entrance into the forest, the approaches being narrow and difficult, the chiefs divided their force into separate parties. Owen himself at the head of about a hundred soldiers, entered the woods; and in his way, perceiving the footsteps of men, he pursued and overtook them, killed some of their number, and dispersed the remainder; then, seizing on their cattle, he returned with his plunder towards the main body of the army. At this moment, Gerald the governor of Pembroke castle, made his appearance, intending to join the king's forces. Meeting the people who had fled from Owen, they complained of the injury they had just received, and implored his assistance. In an instant the idea of revenge rushed upon his mind, for the insult which his honour had received some years before, by the outrage which Owen had committed on his wife. He instantly entered the forest in pursuit of that chieftain, who being warned by his followers of the approaching danger, refused to fly; confident that his pursuers intended him no injury, they, like himself, being vassals of the king of England. As soon.

soon as Gerald and his forces drew near, they discharged a volley of arrows. Owen, then, finding his mistake, with much spirit, called upon his men to support him; telling them, that though their enemies were seven to one in number, they were only Flemings, affrighted at the name of a Welshman, and were only distinguished by drinking deep at carousals. In the first onset Owen ap Cadwgan was slain; an arrow having pierced his heart. His death dispirited his followers, who fled to the main body of the army; and the tidings of this outrage, having given the confederates a distrust of the king's forces, they dispersed, and returned into their respective countries.' In this manner died, suitably to the tenor of his life, this bold and profligate chieftain.

THE princes of the house of Powys revolted, at this time, from their allegiance to Henry, and making inroads upon the English marches, committed there great depredations.

A. D. 1121.
21st of Henry I. THE English monarch, incensed at their revolt, once more marched in person at the head of a powerful army into Wales.* When he arrived on the confines of Powys, Meredydh ap Bleddyn, and his nephews, the three sons of the late prince Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, implored the assistance of Gryffyd the king of North Wales. But this prince, estranged from the real interests of his country, and still deluded by the artifice of Henry,

* Welsh Chron. p. 182.

* Simon Dunelm, p. 245. Holinhead's Chron. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 477. John Brompton, p. 1013. These writers say, that in this expedition, the king penetrated as far as Snowdon.

refused

refused to afford them any succour, or to allow them the liberty of entering into any part of his dominions ; he being then, as he told them, at peace with that monarch.

THE Welsh princes, despairing of any other relief, than what they might derive from their own spirit and exertions, prepared for their defence ; and with much judgment stationed bodies of men to guard the different passes into the country. The English king, having ordered his army to take a larger circuit, that the conveyance of his carriages might be rendered more easy, entered himself with a few troops into a narrow defile. The Welsh, stationed in places of advantage, began to skirmish with their arrows ; killing some, and wounding many of his party. An arrow accidentally shot from an unknown hand, struck the king on the breast : he received little or no injury from the blow, the force of it being broken by the excellent temper of his *babergeon*, or coat of mail.¹ It was uncertain from whence the stroke proceeded ; but Henry, the instant he felt it, swore by the “ death of our Lord,” his usual oath, that the arrow came not from a Welsh but an English bow.² The danger he had so narrowly escaped made him desirous of ending the war ; in which a single misfortune, in so wild a country, might fully the renown he had formerly acquired. There was something fastidious in the idea, that the glory of Henry would be tarnished, by any check his arms might receive from the Welsh ; a people, who, though rude, and deriving little splendor from alliances, or the extent

¹ Stowe's Chron. p. 140. Welsh Chron. p. 185.

² William Malmesbury, p. 158. Franckfort edit. Baker's Chron. p. 40.

or situation of their country, had hitherto baffled the various attempts, which a powerful nation like the English, had made against their liberties.

THE king, in this situation, and under the sense of alarm, entered into a negotiation with Meredydh the prince of Powys; who submitted to give hostages, to pay a thousand head of cattle, and a small sum of money as a compensation for the treason committed in this insurrection by himself, and by his nephews. On these terms, Henry very willingly granted them pardon and peace; and returned into England, having appointed the lord Fitzwarren to be warden of the marches.¹

A. D. 1122.

A SPIRIT of cruelty, which bordered upon frenzy, and which broke asunder the ties of nature, seized on the different branches of the house of Powys; an effect produced by the custom of *gavel-kind*, that fatal source from which the Welsh have tasted so deeply of the waters of bitterness.²

A. D. 1125.
1127.

It seems, at this time, as if Gryffyd ap Rhys had lain down his arms, and had been taken into favour by the English king; having received from that prince a district of land, on which for a while he remained in quiet. Though given for the support of his family, or to secure his fidelity, this estate was, however, taken from him by Henry, on a fictitious charge brought

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 185, 186, 187. William Malmesbury, p. 159.

² Welsh Chron. p. 186, 187, 188.

against him by the Normans, near whom he resided.¹ There was something singular and cruel, in thus driving a prince into want, dependence and despair, in the very country of which he himself was the natural sovereign.

A. D.
1127.
27th of
Henry I.

MEREDYDH prince of Powys, the last surviving son of Bled-dyn ap Cynvyn, died at this time ; who, forsaking the interests of his native country, had long become a subject to the king of England.²

A. D.
1133.

Soon after this event died also Henry the first, and Stephen succeeded to the English crown.

A. D.
1135.

THE news of Henry's death, arriving in Wales, excited a general commotion : a spirit of revolt and hostility was instantly diffused. Even Gryffyd h ap Cynan, who so long had deserted the dignity of his character, deluded by artifice, or influenced by a personal regard for the late king, joined in the common cause against the English. The insurrection began in the territory of Pembroke, and a considerable body of Normans were cut in pieces. Animated with success, the insurgents spread over and ravaged the whole of that country ; putting to death all the foreigners wherever they came.³

To pursue the revolt with greater ability and vigour, Gryffyd h ap Rhys found it necessary to go into North Wales, to

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 187.

² Ibid. p. 188.

³ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63. taken from Gest. Reg. Step. p. 930, 931, 932. & Continuat. ad Flor. Wig. sub annos, 1135, 1136, 1137.

procure a reinforcement of troops from his father-in-law Gryffyd h ap Cynan. In the absence of that prince, his wife Gwenthian, desirous of aiding the generous designs of her husband, took the field in person at the head of her own forces, attended by her two sons. This lady's success was not equal to her gallant spirit. Her army was defeated not far from the castle of Cydweli, by Maurice de Londres, an English lord possessed of great property in the country. Morgan, one of her sons, was slain in the action, and her other son Maelgwyn taken prisoner; and the princess herself, it is said, was beheaded by the orders of her brutal enemy.¹ An action so savage, without precedent even in these times, called loudly for vengeance on the spirit of the injured princes.²

A. D.
1135
1st of
Stephen.

ALIVE to an injury so singular and atrocious, her brothers Owen Gwynedd and Cadwalader, laid waste, with infinite fury, the province of Caerdigan.³ Among a people, whose manners seem to have been little refined by ideas of chivalry, we are surprised at the appearance of characters, whose personal qualities, and bravery of spirit, whose courteous and gentle demeanour, might have entitled them to dispute the palm with the accomplished knights of the feudal ages.⁴ These distinguished

¹ Girald. Cambr. Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

² Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. lib. I. cap. IX. and also Dr. Powell's notes on the said chapter. This circumstance clearly contradicts the assertion of Florentius Monk of Westminster, that Gwenthian wife to Gryffyd h ap Rhys, by deceitful practices, had been the cause of his death. See Welsh Chron. p. 190.

³ Welsh Chr. p. 189.

⁴ Girald. Camb. lib. II. cap. XII.

persons were the sons of Gryffyd h ap Cynan. As soon as these princes arrived in South Wales, several chieftains joined their army; and being thus reinforced, they took and destroyed the castles of Aberystwyth,¹ Dinerth, and Caerwedros, and two other fortresses belonging to Walter Aspec, and Richard de la Mare; all of which were strong and well garrisoned. Having finished the campaign, so much to the honour of their feelings, the princes returned into North Wales.*

In revenge, it is probable, of the late devastations, Ranulph A. D. 1136. earl of Chester made an inroad into Wales; but being on a sudden intercepted by the Welsh, it was with great difficulty, that he himself, with five of his soldiers, were able to escape; the remainder of his forces having been put to the sword.²

On the close of the same year, Owen and Cadwalader again invaded South Wales, at the head of a formidable force; consisting of six thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, all of which were compleatly armed. Gryffyd h ap Rhys, who had married their sister, and was all on fire for vengeance, besides many eminent chieftains, joined the princes of North Wales; and strengthened their army by considerable supplies.³ With a violence not to be resisted, the confederate princes subdued the

¹ The word *Aber*, which frequently occurs in the Welsh history, signifies that point where a lesser river runs into a larger; or where a river discharges itself into the sea.

² Welsh Chron. p. 189.

³ Simon Jnelme, Continuata, p. 258, 259.

⁴ Welsh Chro p. 190.

whole country as far as the town of Caerdigan; expelling the foreigners, and reinstating the native inhabitants. To repel this formidable insurrection, the united force of the Normans, the Flemings, and the English, in Wales or in the marches, was exerted, under the conduct of several powerful barons; who determined by one great effort to recover the territories lately torn from them.¹ These were the two sons of Gerald de Windsor, with Robert Fitzmartyn, and William Fitz John, besides Stephen the governor of Caerdigan; who, after the death of Gerald, had married Nêst,² the widow of that lord.

THE courage of the Welsh had, in various situations, been terrible to their enemies: on this occasion, it seems to have been raised above the usual standard; fired with resentment at the late outrage, and animated by the example of leaders, whose spirit and talents rendered them so fit for command. The English, after a severe and bloody conflict, were defeated, with the loss of three thousand men; and flying to their castles for safety, were so closely pursued, that many prisoners were taken, and great numbers drowned in the Teivi; a bridge across that river having broken down, over which the fugitives were obliged to pass.³ Never before had the English, in their various attempts upon Wales, received so terrible a blow. Having finished another prosperous campaign, the two young princes returned

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 189.

² Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 189. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 4. Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 364.

into North Wales; carrying with them, to grace their triumph, the horses and armour, and the rich spoils they had taken.¹

IN the course of these events, Richard earl of Clare, to whom the territory of Caerdigan had been given by Henry, was murdered by Jorwerth, the brother of Morgan of Caer-Lleon; as he was riding through a forest, enjoying the pleasure of music, and without suspicion of an enemy.² His widow the countess of Clare, and sister to the earl of Chester, had retired into one of his castles, on the murder of her husband. In this fortress, during the late campaign, she was besieged by the Welsh. The situation of this lady was truly deplorable. She was invested by an irritated enemy, and in want of provisions; the English were nearly all slain, or expelled the country; her brother was at a distance, and so employed in defending his own territories, that he could not afford her any timely relief: and, what contributed to render her situation still more wretched, she had reason to expect every hour a fate, which she might deem more cruel than death itself; the Welsh, like many other nations, having usually taken their female captives, even those of the highest rank, to be their concubines.³ In this dreadful state, Milo Fitz Walter, who, by right of his wife the daughter of Bernard de Newmarche, was the lord of Brecknock, received orders from king Stephen to use his utmost endeavours to set at liberty the un-

¹ British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

² Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

³ Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. p. 64. Cadwalader, one of these princes, afterwards married the daughter of this countess of Clare. Hist. Gwedir, p. 5.

fortunate

fortunate countess. There was so much difficulty and danger in the enterprise, that its success appeared almost impossible. A generous pity, which a brave mind ever feels for weakness in distress, and the gallant spirit of chivalry, made him however attempt, at every hazard, to deliver the lady out of danger. He lost no time, therefore, in marching, with a chosen body of troops, through ways which were least frequented; traversing along the tops of mountains and through the deep woods of the country; and at length, having had the good fortune to arrive at the castle, unseen by the Welsh, he carried away the countess of Clare, and all her retinue.* An action so gallant and humane, equals many of the fanciful descriptions which are found in romance, and proves such pictures to have borne some resemblance to the manners of the feudal ages.

We see not on this occasion, the same gallantry of spirit in Owen and Cadwalader; nor in other parts of their subsequent conduct; though these princes, it is said, were highly distinguished for humanity and courteous manners.†

A. D. 1137. THE power of the confederacy against the English, was much weakened by the death of Gryffydd the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr; who, closing with his life a series of gallant actions, reflected back the honours he had received from a long line of illustrious ancestry.‡

* Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. vol. II. p. 64. from Girald. Cambrensis. Itin. Cam. cap. II. lib. I.

† Welsh Chron. p. 189.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 190.

THE same fate, soon after the late prosperous campaign, attended Gryffyd h ap Cynan king of North Wales; who died at the advanced age of eighty-two, and was buried on the south side of the great altar in the church of Bangor.¹ This prince had three sons and five daughters by his wife Angharad the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield. The names of the three sons were Owen, Cadwalader, and Cadwallon; the youngest of whom was slain before the death of his father.² He had likewise five other children by another woman.³

A. D.
1137.
2d of
Stephen.

In such a country as North Wales, where so many causes conspired to render its government unstable, and the enjoyment of it often fatal to the sovereign, that the late prince should have been able to extend his reign to fifty years, was an extraordinary instance of good fortune, and a proof of his possessing considerable abilities. The love of freedom, which had distinguished the early part of his life, infused the same spirit into the minds of his subjects; and which led them to disdain the ignominious yoke imposed on them by a foreign power. His valour, and his abilities, aiding their returning virtue, delivered his country from the vassalage of England; and, in general, by his conduct with Henry, or by the vigour of his government, he preserved his dominions free from the invasions of the English, and from civil commotions. The recital of these virtues, which form the shining features of his character, is no more than a just eulogium on his memory. But other im-

¹ Vita Griff. fil. Conani.

² Welsh Chron. p. 191. Hist. Gwedir family, p. 1.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 191.

pressions are marked on the reverse of the medal, expressive of a conduct neither amiable nor great. A just policy required him to unite in the common cause, as to one central point, the jarring interests which prevailed in the other principalities; and the importance of his own situation and character, should have induced him to reflect, that he himself was the great spring, which was to give life and vigour, and efficacy to the exertions of the whole. He ought to have known that the conquest of Wales was a leading principle in the politics of England; and that the princes of that country would never cease to exert every effort of sagacity and power, until their ambition had been satiated by the conquest, or by the entire destruction of the Welsh. Impressed with ideas such as these, he ought to have regarded every offer of friendship, made by the English monarch, as a delusive snare to his honour: and at every gift, he ought to have exclaimed in the natural language of distrust, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Influenced by a personal regard to Henry, or by motives of a baser nature, he was led to prefer a selfish and solitary peace with the English, to the more generous and manly conduct of sharing in the common danger; and of attempting to preserve the general freedom of his country, by uniting its strength. He was prevented, indeed, by his tedious captivity in Chester, from taking an active part, in impeding the conquests which the English were making in South Wales; nor is it candid to suppose, in that period of his life, he was insensible to the danger of that country, or could be cold to its interests. The same plea will not justify another
part

part of his conduct. Instead of giving security to Powys, a barrier of such importance to his kingdom, he left the princes of that country, on its being invaded by Henry, to abide their fate; refusing, under a cold pretence, to afford them protection or relief. These traits of his character, with a desire of sacrificing to the jealousy of the English king an orphan prince, who had sought his protection, and whose birth and talents might have rendered him the instrument of his country's safety, evince; that the conduct of Gryffydd ap Cynan was not entirely directed by the principles of honour, or humanity, or of a solid and extensive policy,

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF GRYFFYD AP CYNAN TO THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH.

ON the death of Gryffyd ap Cynan, his dominions, agreeably to the custom of the country, were divided among his sons. His eldest son, Owen, surnamed Gwynedh, under the newly adopted title of *prince*, succeeded as sovereign of North Wales.

A. D.
1137.
2d of Stephen.

THIS active prince, in confederacy with his brother, began his reign by a third expedition into South Wales, with the same fortunate issue which had heretofore followed his arms; destroying in his progress the castles of Strath-Meyric, Stephen, and Humfrey, and burning to the ground the town of Caermarthen.¹ Retaining in his possession all Caerdigan, and obliging the inhabitants of Pembroke to pay him tribute, he returned into his own dominions in high reputation.²

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 193.

² Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

THE series of prosperity which of late had attended the Welsh princes, might in some measure be owing to the embarrassed situation of Stephen king of England. This prince, engaged in continual hostilities, and in supporting a doubtful title, had neither inclination nor leisure to interest himself in affairs, in which he himself had no immediate concern; and were transacted too in so remote a part of the island. In consequence of which, he concluded a peace with the Welsh, and allowed them to retain the territories they had lately recovered free of homage or tribute; at least, it does not appear that either the one or the other was ever paid, during his reign, by any of the princes of Wales.¹

AN incident arose at this time, affording an example of savage manners; which proved fatal to the parties concerned, and, in the event, had nearly involved the state in ruin. Anarawd the son of Gryffydd ap Rhys, had married the daughter of Cadwalader, the brother of Owen prince of North Wales. A violent dispute having arisen between the father and the son, they decided the contest by a single combat. In this rencounter Anarawd was slain. Owen was so incensed at this outrage committed by his brother, that he, with his son Howel, invaded the territories of that prince; set on fire his castle of Aberystwyth, laid waste the country, and obliged him to fly into Ireland. Engaging in his service several Irish chieftains, and a large body of forces, Cadwalader landed at Abermenai in Caernarvonshire; where he

A. D.
1142.

¹ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 66.

was opposed by the prince of North Wales with a powerful army; but before any action had taken place, a peace was concluded between the two brothers; which so incensed the Irish, that they detained Cadwalader, as a security, until they had received their stipulated pay. That prince, to recover his liberty, gave them two thousand head of cattle. As soon as the prince of North Wales had heard that his brother was at liberty, he suddenly attacked the Irish; slew great numbers of them, and recovered the cattle which had been given by Cadwalader, with the prisoners and other spoils they had taken in the country.¹

A. D.
1142.

AFTER this expedition, Howel* and Cynan, the illegitimate sons of Owen Gwynedh, made another inroad into South Wales; gave the Normans, who opposed them, an overthrow, and took possession of the town of Caerdigan.² † This was succeeded by an attempt which was made by Gilbert earl of Clare; to recover those territories which, it is probable, Stephen in the late treaty had ceded to the Welsh. With this view he came with a large army into Pembroke, and rebuilt the castle of Caermarthen, and another fortress.³ To defeat his design, Cadell the son of the late Gryffydd ap Rhys, laid siege to, and made himself master of the castle of Dinevawr. Joining then his forces with those of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they invested the castle of Caermarthen; which was soon given up on condi-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 197.

* Besides being a gallant warrior, prince Howel was a Bard of some eminence; several poems of his being now extant.

² Welsh Chron. p. 198.

† *Aberteivi.*

³ Welsh Chron. p. 198.

tion

tion that the lives of the garrison should be spared.¹ This advantage encouraged them to appear before the castle of Llanstephan,* in the county of Caermarthen; to the relief of which came a large body of the enemy; but success still attending on the arms of the Welsh, the Normans were defeated and the fortress was taken. The Normans and Flemings who inhabited that country, under the conduct of the sons of Gerald, and of William de Hay, in hopes of recovering the castle, suddenly invested it. Meredydh the son of Gryffydd ap Rhys, to whose custody the fortress was committed, defended it with great valour, and with equal ability; for having suffered the enemy to scale the walls, and at the moment, when the ladders were crowded with soldiers, he caused them to be overturned by the means of engines he had previously provided. This discomfiture, with the loss they had sustained, obliged the Normans to raise the siege.²

A. D.
1143.
8th of
Stephen.

AN affliction of a private nature, the sudden death of Rhun,³ a favourite though an illegitimate son, fell at this time upon Owen prince of North Wales. In the bitterness of his sorrow, the afflicted father gave himself up to solitude and to tears. But the desire of assisting the operations so successfully begun in South Wales, as well as the importance of the object, reviving the spirit of an active and a gallant prince, he determined to lay siege to the castle of Mold, in Flintshire. That fortress, situated on the Welsh frontier, was exceedingly strong, and had within it a numerous garrison of English; who frequently falling out,

A. D.
1144.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 198.

* Situated near the mouth of the river *Towy*.

² Welsh Chron. p. 198.

³ *Ibid.* p. 226.

much

much infested the adjacent country. It had been frequently besieged by the Welsh; but on account of its strength and warlike appointments, every attempt had hitherto proved unsuccessful. The place was at this time invested by Owen, and the garrison with great intrepidity sustained many terrible assaults; at length, the Welsh, animated by the presence of their sovereign, bore down every resistance, and entered the castle by storm. Having taken prisoners those who had escaped the sword, prince Owen levelled with the ground the walls of that fortress. In doing which he gave no proof of his military sagacity; such a place being evidently of importance, as a check to the inroads of the English on the frontier of his dominions. The glory of this achievement so elevated the spirits of the Welsh prince, that he soon forgot his sorrows; and recovered the usual tone of his mind, as well as a relish for his former amusements.*

THE sons of Gryffydd ap Rhys having laid siege to the castle of Gwys in Pembrokeshire, and finding their own force unequal to the enterprise, they desired the assistance of Howel, the natural son of Owen Gwynedh; whose talents for the council or the field were high in the esteem of his country. This young prince, eager for glory, joined the three Welsh lords; and having reconnoitered the fortress, he caused engines to be constructed to batter its walls, and to annoy the soldiers by throwing large stones into the castle. Preparations so formidable, and probably so novel, intimidated the garrison, who instantly surrendered the fort. After this exploit, Howel returned into his own country.*

A. D.
1145-

* Welsh Chron. p. 199.

* Ibid. p. 200.

A DISSENSION having arisen between Howel and Cynan, the sons of the prince of North Wales, and Cadwalader their uncle, the young princes led a body of troops into Meirionydh, to ravage his territories. The terror of this inroad caused the inhabitants to fly into different places of sanctuary. But the princes having proclaimed, that no injury was intended to any person who submitted to their authority, the people, accustomed to a change of masters, quietly returned to their own habitations. They then invested the castle of Cynvael, erected by Cadwalader, and left by that prince to the custody of the Abbot of Ty Gwyn. Neither menaces, nor offers of rewards, could shake the fidelity of this warlike priest; he defended the place with great intrepidity, until the walls of the castle were beaten down, and all the garrison were either wounded or slain; he then made his escape by means of some friends which he had in the enemies army.¹ Some time after, another of his fortresses was taken by his nephew Howel, his territory wrested from him, and Cadwalader himself imprisoned.²

A. D.
1148.

ANIMOSITY against the English, and the same gallantry of spirit which had distinguished the father, animated the sons of Gryffydd ap Rhys. Cadell, one of the sons of that prince, having fortified the castle of Caermarthen, issued from thence with a body of troops, and marched to Cydweli, the country about which he ravaged and laid waste; then, joining his forces with those of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they entered into Caerdigan, and subdued a part of that district.³

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 201.

² Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 168.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 202.

THE incidents of this reign have been hitherto confined to enterprises of no national importance. But a transaction arose at this time, which in some measure menaced the safety of the state, and called into exercise the military talents of the prince of North Wales. To recover the credit of his arms, which had been lost by a former defeat in Wales, Ranulph earl of Chester meditated a formidable invasion of that country.* Besides his own vassals, he collected from different parts of England a large body of troops. He engaged likewise in the design Madoc ap Meredydh, at this time the prince of Powys; who disdaining to hold his territories under the sovereignty of North Wales, joined the arms of the earl of Chester; and the two leaders, with their united forces, entered the dominions of Owen Gwynedh. On this invasion, that prince advanced into Flintshire, to give his enemies the meeting at Counsyllt, on the confines of his kingdom. This movement, as rapid as it was bold, infused a spirit into his army, and secured his own territories from the devastations of war. Contrary to the usual custom of the Welsh, of scarcely ever risking a general engagement, or of attacking an enemy unless in situations of advantage, Owen, availing himself of the ardour of his troops, faced the English and offered them battle; though their forces were superior to his own in numbers, and had also the advantage from the nature of their arms. The fortune of the day decided in favour of the Welsh; who so entirely discomfited the English, that few remained to witness their disgrace; except those who were taken

A. D.
1150.
15th of
Stephen.

* Welsh Chron. p. 197.

prisoners, and the leaders of the army, who escaped the fury of the pursuit by the swiftness of their horses.'

THOUGH urged to a different conduct, by every motive of prudence, Cadell, Meredydh, and Rhys, the sons of Gryffydd ap Rhys, invaded Caerdigan, which was the property of Howel the son of the prince of North Wales; and subdued the whole of that territory, except a single fortress in Pengwern. The loss of the bravest of their soldiers, which they sustained at the siege of Llanryfdd castle, so irritated the young princes, that when they gained possession of it, they put the garrison to the sword. From thence they proceeded to the castle of Strath-Meyric; which, after they had taken, they fortified with new works; and the princes, then, disbanding their forces, returned into South Wales.*

A. D.
1150.

CADELL, the eldest of these lords, being fond of the pleasures of the chase, engaged in a hunting party to amuse himself after the toils of the late expedition. This prince had no sooner begun his diversion, than the inhabitants of Tenby, who had conceived some displeasure against him, suddenly attacked his party; and, unarmed as they were, easily put them to flight. Cadell himself, sorely wounded, escaped with difficulty to his house, where he languished a considerable time. In revenge of this treatment, his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, entered the territory of Gwyr in Glamorgan; and having laid waste that

* Welsh Chron. p. 202. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 4.

* Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 170.

country,

country, they made themselves masters of the castle of Aberllychwr, which they levelled with the ground; they then returned into their own territories, enriched with much plunder, and rebuilt the castle of Dinevawr, the ancient palace of their ancestors. Some time after, the two princes laid siege to the castle of Penwedic in Caerdigan, belonging to prince Howel, of which, after some difficulty, they gained possession; then investing the castle of Tenby in the night, they took that fortress by escalade, before the garrison was aware of any danger; obtaining revenge, by this last exploit, for the injury which their brother had lately received.*

THE custom of Asiatic sovereigns, of exterminating the younger branches of their family, was too frequently adopted by the Welsh princes; tinged more deeply their native barbarism, by a policy so mean and sanguinary. Cadwallon the brother of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, having been assassinated, in the late reign, in revenge of several murders which he himself had committed, left a son of the name of Cynetha, the undoubted heir to his territories. To render his nephew incapable of supporting the claim which he had to his paternal inheritance, Owen had the barbarity to pull out his eyes; and refining on a savage and a detested policy, he also caused him to be castrated; that no heirs in future might lay claim to his territories, or might retaliate the injuries which this prince had received.[†] An action so atrocious, and not to be extenuated even by the rudeness of these times, throws a

A. D.
1151.

* Welsh Chron. p. 203.

† Ibid.

deep shade over the character of a prince, who, in many respects, was a friend to his country, and of an amiable and gallant spirit.

A. D.
1151.
16th of
Stephen.

CADWALADER, who had been long kept in confinement by his nephew Howel, had the good fortune to escape out of prison; and flying into Anglesey, he brought a great part of that island under his subjection. The prince of North Wales, hearing of his brother's escape, and of the prosperous situation of his affairs, sent against him a body of troops; which proving too formidable to be resisted by Cadwalader, he was obliged to fly into England, to solicit assistance from the relations of his wife, a daughter of the house of Clare.¹

A. D.
1154.

THE late event was followed by another of much greater importance to Wales, by the death of Stephen the king of England; and Henry the second, a more formidable enemy to its interests, succeeded to the throne.²

A. D.
1155.
1st of
Henry II.

WHILE the Welsh princes were warring the national force in mutual hostilities, the Flemings, who had settled as a colony in South Wales, acquired an accession of strength. One of the first acts in the government of king Henry, relating to Wales, was to banish out of England the Flemish soldiers, who had followed the fortunes of Stephen; and, possessing sound principles of political wisdom, he gave permission to these foreigners, to settle among their countrymen in the province of Pembroke.³

¹ Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 5. Welsh Chron. p. 203. At this time (A. D. 1153.) died Meredydh the son of the late prince Gryffydd ap Rhys of South Wales.

² Welsh Chron. p. 204.

³ Ibid. p. 205.

SEVERAL causes conspired, with the motives of ambition and glory, in engaging the king of England, to employ at this time, the utmost exertion of his power, in attempting the conquest of Wales. Madoc ap Meredydh, the prince of Powys, conscious of having joined the enemies of his country; and dreading the resentment which that conduct had excited in the breast of Owen Gwynedh, endeavoured, as a means of his future security, to incite the English king to the invasion of North Wales. Cadwalader, likewise, since the fatal issue of the combat with his nephew, having been treated with severity by his brother Owen, and by the sons of that prince, had fled into England; and in that court, had employed in prosecution of the same design, his own solicitations, with the powerful interest of the house of Clare.* The glory to be acquired, and the importance of the object, with the apparent facility of the enterprise, from the defection of such powerful princes, determined Henry to exert every means, which his great power afforded, for the conquest of the country.

HE collected out of different parts of England, a very formidable army, with which he marched to Chester; then advancing into Flintshire, he encamped his forces upon a marsh called Saltney, which borders upon the river Dee. Such was the mighty preparations which this prince had made for the conquest of Wales, that he compelled every two of his military vassals throughout England, to find a soldier to reinforce his army, and enable him with greater vigour to prosecute the

A. D.
1157.
3d of
Henry II.

* Welsh Chron. p. 206.

war.* Owen, the prince of North Wales, with his usual activity, advancing to the frontiers of his dominions, took post at Basingwerk near Holywell in the county of Flint. In this situation he waited the approach of the English. The boldness of the movement encouraged Henry to hope, that the Welsh prince intended to risque a general engagement. And in consequence of which, he dispatched a chosen body of troops under the command of several barons of distinction; with the design of bringing the Welsh to an action, or of dislodging them from their post. This party, in passing through the woody and broken country of Coed Eulo, near Hawarden, was attacked by David and Cynan the sons of Owen Gwynedh; and who, with a body of forces, had lain in ambush to intercept them. The suddenness and impetuosity of the assault, with the unusual difficulties of their situation, so intimidated the English, that they fled in great disorder, and with much slaughter, to the main body of the army.¹ Alarmed at the danger, and mortified by the disgrace, the king of England broke up his camp, and marched along the sea shore to the town of Flint; intending by this manœuvre, to deceive the Welsh prince by leaving him upon the right, and by a nearer road to penetrate into the interior parts of the country. But in passing through a long and narrow defile at Counsyllt, he was intercepted by Owen.

* Matth. Paris, p. 81. There were sixty thousand knights fees created by the Conqueror, which must make the levy of Henry, raised at this time, to amount to 30,000 men. Hume's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 2. Appendix, p. 141.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 206.

THE design was conducted with temper and judgment. The English were permitted to enter unmolested so far into the strait, as to render their advance or retreat both difficult and dangerous. The Welsh, then, rushing with terrible outcries from out of the woods, assaulted them with stones, arrows, and other missile weapons. Struck with dismay, encumbered with heavy armour, and unaccustomed to fight in such situations, the English were again thrown into the utmost disorder; being unable either to retreat, or to resist so unexpected an onset.¹ In the general confusion, Henry himself was obliged to fly; Eustace Fitz John, and Robert de Courcy, with other noblemen of distinction, were slain.²

THE few of the vanguard who had escaped the sword, fell back upon the main body of the English, who were advancing in regular order to the entrance of the defile. A rumour instantly prevailed of the death of the king; and the earl of Essex,³ hereditary standard-bearer of England, seized with the general terror, threw to the ground the royal standard; at the same time crying aloud, "The king is slain." The terror then became universal.³

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 207. Holinshead's Chron. p. 67. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. cap. X. lib. II.

² Stowe's Chron. p. 149.

³ The year following, Essex was accused of treason by Robert de Montford; and being vanquished by him in a single combat, which happened in consequence, he was condemned to death by king Henry; though the severity of the sentence was afterwards mitigated by that prince; his estate, however, was confiscated, and after being shorn like a monk, he was confined during his life in a convent. Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II.

³ Holinshead's Chron. p. 67. Chronica Gervasii, p. 1380.

The Welsh, perceiving their disorder, attacked the English with such impetuosity, that a general rout must have ensued; if at this moment the king, at length extricated from his perilous situation, had not made himself known to the army, by lifting up the vizor of his helmet. His presence in an instant changed the scene. The English, acquiring fresh ardour from the gallantry of their sovereign, and who with alacrity led them on to the charge, gave a check to the Welsh forces, and drove them back into the woods.¹

THE prince of Wales, after this slight disaster, retired to a post near St. Asaph, called from this event *Cil Owen*, or Owen's retreat. On the nearer approach of the king, he retreated to Bryn-y-Pin, a stronger post situated five miles west of St. Asaph.² At the same time, by the orders of Henry, an English fleet, which he had assembled at Chester, infested the coast of North Wales. The king of England meeting with no resistance, advanced to Rhuddlan, where he erected a house for the knights templars;³ a new kind of military garrison in Wales, and established, it is probable, for a purpose similar to the original institution of that *order* in Palestine. He, likewise, more strongly fortified the castle of that town, with the fortrefs at Basingwerk; and that he might secure the conquests he had made, by rendering more easy the marching of armies, he cut down the woods, and constructed new roads through the country he had subdued.⁴

¹ Holinshead's Chron. p. 67.

² Stowe's Chron. p. 149. A manuscript copy in Welsh of Caradoc of Llancarvan.

³ Annales Waverleienfis, p. 159. ⁴ Matth. Paris, p. 81.

Owen did not remain an indifferent spectator of transactions so inimical to the interests of his country. He descended frequently from his post on the hill, to skirmish with the king's troops, and to molest them in their designs; but no general action ensued; the two princes had been taught prudence by their past experience, and did not chuse to risque the fate of their separate armies by engaging in improper situations. At the same time, the English fleet under the conduct of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powys, made a descent on the island of Anglesey, ravaged a part of the country, and plundered two churches: on returning to their ships, the party was attacked by the whole strength of the island, and entirely cut in pieces. Dismayed with the fate of their associates, the English fleet weighed anchor, and sailed back to Chester.* Owen derived little advantage from these fortunate incidents; as the English were in force, and strongly fortified in the maritime parts of Flintshire. The wise measure likewise which Henry had employed in having stationed a fleet on the coast of Wales, gave the Welsh prince reason to fear that his army, cooped up in the interior parts of the country, might be in danger of perishing for want of necessary sustenance; as his kingdom had been accustomed to receive from foreign countries a great part of its provisions. These motives, cogent as they may be, will scarcely justify Owen, as a magnanimous and independent sovereign, in concluding a peace with the king of England, upon terms so injurious to his country, and to his

* Manuscript of Caradoc, ut supra. Stow's Chron. ibid.

* Welsh Chron. p. 207. Giraldus Cambr. Itin. lib. II. cap. VII. William Newburgh, lib. II. cap. V. Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

A. D. 1157.
3d of Henry II. own particular honour and interests. By this treaty, he himself and his chieftains submitted to do homage to Henry,¹ and which ceremony was performed in Snowdun;² to yield up those castles and districts in North Wales, which in the late reign had been obtained from the English;³ to take Cadwalader his brother into favour, and to restore him his territories.⁴ What contributed still more to complete the humiliating scene, he was obliged to deliver up two of his sons as pledges of his future obedience.⁵

THUS have we seen the Welsh nation, by a solemn act of their sovereign, and by the means of an English fleet, reduced again to a dependence on the crown of England. If the long and gallant resistance which this people had made for freedom, against a power so very unequal, excite our admiration and wonder, we shall be no less surprised that a nation like the English, so much farther advanced in political wisdom, should not have been able sooner to terminate the contest.

A. D. 1158. THE year after this important event, a general peace took place between England and Wales.⁶ The princes and all the chieftains of South Wales repaired to the court of England; where Henry granted them peace, on the terms of doing homage for their own territories; and on their ceding to him those

¹ Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

² Probably at Conway, where the district of Snowdun began. Matth. Paris, p. 81.

³ Annales Waverleienfis, p. 159.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 208.

⁵ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 79.

⁶ Welsh Chron. p. 208.

districts, which in the late reign had been recovered from the English.¹

RHYS the son of Gryffydd ap Rhys, the immediate heir to the sovereign dignity in South Wales, was not included in the general pacification.

ANIMATED with the same spirit which had heretofore distinguished his family, this prince was not willing tamely to yield up to ambitious foreigners, a sovereign dignity, which had descended to him through a long line of ancestors. Under the just fears that Henry would employ his force against him, he commanded his vassals to remove their goods and cattle into the forest of Towi; and from whence, unsupported by any confederate, he made war against the English.²

PLEASED with his gallant spirit, or afraid of his power, Henry sent him an invitation to his court, under the assurance of a gracious reception; but threatened, at the same time, if he rejected the friendly overture, that the whole force of Wales and of England should be employed to convey him thither.³

THE high spirit of the Welsh prince was obliged to submit to so alarming a summons; and by the advice of his friends he repaired to Henry's court; where having done homage, and given up two of his sons⁴ as hostages for his fidelity, the district

¹ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 80.

² Welsh Chron. p. 208.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 208.

⁴ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 81. The like security was exacted from all the other Welsh chieftains and princes.

of Cantrev Mawr, the ancient demefne of his family, was promifed him.¹ But contrary to that promife, the king gave him only a few lordfhips, and other eftates remote from each other, and intermixed with the Englifh territories; with the design, no doubt, by fuch a difpofition of his property, to render his power lefs dangerous. Neceffity obliged Rhys to remain quiet under fuch unjuft and mortifying treatment.²

THE fituation of this prince, though little to be envied, excited the rapacious fpirit of Walter Clifford, and of another Englifh lord; who making an inroad into his territories, flew many of his vaffals, and carried away confiderable fpoils. Rhys fent immediate intelligence to the king of this outrage, defiring fatisfaction for the injury he had received. But Henry, partial to the conduct of his Englifh fubjects, and regarding with a jealous eye the interefts of the Welch, paid no other attention to his complaints, than holding out to him fallacious affurances of redrefs. Incensed at a conduct fo faithlefs, Rhys threw off his allegiance; determined that his fword fhould do him that juftice, which had been denied him by the Englifh king.³ He begun his revolt, by laying fiege to the caftle of Llandovery* in Caermarthenshire, of which he foon gained poffeffion. At the fame time Einion, nephew to the Welch prince, alike eager to throw off the ignominious yoke, flew to arms; regarding the oath of allegiance which his uncle had taken as diffolved; the obligation

¹ Welch Chron. p. 208.

² Ibid.

³ Dr. Powell's notes on Girald. Camb. Itin. lib. I. cap. X.

* *Llanymddyfri*.

on the part of the king, of doing justice and of affording protection, not having been observed. He invested the castle of Humfrey, which he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. In this fortress, he found a number of horses and implements of war sufficient to equip a considerable body of men. Rhys, likewise, with equal rapidity and success, spread over the whole country of Caerdigan; which he soon brought under his subjection, after having levelled with the ground every fortress belonging to the English.¹

HENRY regarded this revolt of sufficient importance to demand his presence in South Wales, and entered that country by the sea coast of Glamorgan. But finding all his efforts ineffectual, he was under the necessity of giving up the enterprise,² and of leaving Rhys ap Gryffydd in possession of his conquests; on no other condition than that of giving hostages for the preservation of the peace during the king's absence in Normandy.³ Thus did the prince of South Wales, deserted by all his confederates, baffle the efforts of a mighty monarch.

A. D.
1158.
4th of
Henry II.

His subsequent conduct, by making a sudden inroad into Pembroke, though only contending for his hereditary rights, yet threw some stain upon his honour; as it was likely to expose the hostages,⁴ in Henry's hands, to the cruel treatment usual in these times. Having laid siege to Caermarthen, the earl of

A. D.
1159.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 209.

² Giraldus Cambrensis, lib. II. cap. X.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 209.

⁴ Brompton's Chron. p. 1059.

Bristol, natural son to Henry, with the earl of Clare and the Welsh prince Cadwalader, his brother by marriage, besides two other barons, came to the relief of that place. Howel and Cynan, the sons of the prince of North Wales, joined too, in the unnatural alliance. Unable to resist so formidable an opposition, Rhys retreated to the mountains of Cevn Rester, in which strong post he remained in security. The confederate army, encamping for some time at Dynwyllir, built there a castle; after which, having no intelligence of Rhys ap Gryffyd, they broke up their camp, and returned to their respective countries.¹

A. D.
1160.

MADOC AP MEREDYDH, the last prince of Powys, dying at Winchester, his remains were removed from thence and interred at Meivod in Montgomeryshire, the usual burial place of his family. After his death that principality, one half of which, called Powys Vadoc, he had held entire,² underwent several divisions by the custom of gavel-kind, and was never again united under one sovereign. This prince left three sons, Gryffyd Maelor, Owen, and Elis; besides a daughter, by Sufannah his wife, who was the daughter of Gryffyd ap Cynan; he had, also, Owen Brogyntyn, and two other sons who were illegitimate; all of whom shared, agreeably to the custom of Wales, the paternal inheritance. Likewise, Owen his nephew, the son of Gryffyd ap Meredydh, stiled Owen Cyveilioc, had a district called by that name, which contained near half of Powys.³ The sovereignty of England was acknowledged by all these chieftains.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 210.

² Ibid. p. 210, 211.

³ Ibid.

HENRY,

HENRY, being returned from Normandy, and having reduced the other Welsh princes to his obedience, turned all his attention to the affairs of South Wales ; and to the hostilities lately committed against him by Rhys ap Gryffyth. That prince, still remaining unsubdued, had, during the absence of the English monarch, continually infested the adjacent country, from his strong post on the mountains of Brecknock ; encouraged by some prophecies then current in Wales, that the king would never return into England.¹ Incensed at the frequent violations of the peace, Henry invaded South Wales ; and advancing as far as Pencadaer, received the submission of Rhys ; who, despairing of being able any longer to resist his power, a second time did him homage, and delivered up hostages likewise for his future fidelity.² This ceremony was also performed the year following at Woodstock ; where Rhys ap Gryffyth, attended by the other princes and chieftains in Wales, did homage to the English king, and to Henry his son.³

A. D.
1163.
9th of
Henry II.

A. D.
1164.
10th of
Henry II.

THE submissive demeanour of Rhys ap Gryffyth was of no long continuance. His impatient spirit was again set on fire by an outrage ; marking equally the ferocity of the times, as the weak, or partial government of the English king. Einion, the nephew of the Welsh prince, and a gallant youth, had been lately murdered in his bed by his own servant, at the instigation of the earl of Gloucester.⁴ Finding no protection from the

¹ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 152.

² Welsh Chron. p. 220.

³ V. Diceto. Ymag. Hist. sub Ann. 1163. Math. Paris, p. 84.

⁴ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 189. Chron. of Wales, p. 220.

English,

English, or safety in submission, Rhys once more determined to trust his fortunes to the decision of arms. In his first enterprise, he obtained possession of the territory of Dinevawr, and the large district of Cantrev Mawr. Having recovered the ancient demesnes of his family, he then invaded the territory of the earl of Gloucester; destroying in his progress, the castle of Aber-rheidol,* and other fortresses belonging to the enemy; and, at length, he reduced likewise the entire province of Caerdigan. Eager to recover his hereditary honours, and receiving, no doubt, an additional incentive from the place where he then resided, which had been the royal seat of his ancestors, Rhys carried his arms into Pembroke; and making many inroads on the estates of the Flemings, and ravaging their country, he returned to the castle of Dinevawr, enriched with spoils, and high in the esteem of his country.[†]

FIRE^d by his gallant example, a spirit of revolt sprung up in Wales. With great judgment this prince, during the winter, either by his deputies, or in person, had conferences with the different Welsh princes. He called up their sleeping virtue, and roused it into action, by such incentives as were likely to touch a warm, free, and spirited people. He pointed out the prospect of asserting their freedom, which had of late opened on their country, from the dissensions which had arisen in England between Henry and the archbishop of Canterbury; and from the probability, likewise, that this prince would soon be engaged in

* On the confluence of the rivers *Rheidol* and *Xfawyth*.

† Welsh Chr. p. 220.

a war with France; that country, as well as the Pope, having espoused the cause of Becket.¹

ANIMATED by his generous spirit, by the prosperity which had attended his arms, and by such a favourable conjuncture, the prince of North Wales and all his sons, his brother Cadwalader and the chieftains of Powys, joined Rhys ap Gryffyth; in hopes of regaining the independency they had lost, and of recovering that honour which of late they had forfeited. At no period, had the Welsh nation united into a confederacy like this; centering with so much energy and force, the various policies and interests, the different tempers and abilities of the princes of Wales.²

THE first enterprise, under the conduct of David the son of Owen Gwynedh, was an inroad into Flintshire, where he committed most grievous devastations; carrying away the cattle and inhabitants to the Vale of Clwyd.³

DURING the absence of the king in Normandy, some forces had been levied by parliament for the reduction of Rhys ap Gryffyth.⁴ Henry, on his arrival, marched with these troops into Flintshire, for the protection of Rhuddlan castle; which fortress he was afraid that the Welsh would besiege. The enemy having retired, and the king, not being sufficiently in

A. D.
1165.
11th of
Henry II.

¹ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 439.

² Welsh Chron. p. 220. British Antiq. Reviv'd by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 221. ⁴ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 440.

force to pursue them, stayed only a few days to augment his garrisons, and marched back into England; in order, by raising new levies, to prosecute the war with greater vigour.¹

HIS British dominions, and the different territories he possessed in France, furnished him with their choicest troops; from Normandy, Anjou, and Gascony, from Guienne, Flanders, and Britany; and with this combined and formidable force he marched into Powys, in the full resolution of exterminating the inhabitants.²

THE English army entered the Welsh confines at Oswestry, where Henry encamped for some time; in expectation that the terror of his arms might, by shaking the firmness of the confederate princes, call them back to their allegiance; or at least, that the protection which such a power would naturally afford, might detach from the common cause the chieftains of the house of Powys, the usual adherents of his family. It might have been expected that a confederacy like this, heterogeneous in itself, and forming its union from a sudden impulse, rather than from steady principles of either policy or patriotism, would have shrunk from so formidable an armament. But, determined to rescue their country from a foreign domination, or to perish in the attempt, the Welsh princes remained firm and intrepid.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. sub Ann. 1165. Chronica Gervasii, p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

² Welsh Chron. p. 221.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. sub Ann. 1165. Chron. Gerv. p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

THE power of North Wales was collected under the command of Owen Gwynedd and his brother Cadwalader; the forces of South Wales were led by the gallant Rhys ap Gryffydd: those of Powys by Owen Cyveilioc and the sons of Madoc ap Meredydd. With these troops were joined the inhabitants of the country situated between the Wye and the Severn, under the leading of their chieftains, the two sons of Madoc ap Ednerth.

THE combined forces of the Welsh assembled at Corwen, a strong country in Edeyrnion; in which situation of advantage they waited the approach of the English. With a view of advancing nearer to the enemy, and desirous of bringing on an action, Henry marched his army to the Ceiriog; a river in the county of Denbigh, and which runs through the Vale of that name. And that he might not be liable to the ambuscades of the Welsh, he ordered the woods on each side of the banks to be cut down.¹ It was probably on the passage of this river, that the English monarch was in imminent danger of his life. Attempting to force a bridge, an arrow aimed at him by the hand of a Welshman, must inevitably have pierced his body, if Hubert de St. Clare, constable of Colchester, perceiving the danger, had not in a moment sprung before his sovereign, and received it into his own bosom; of which wound he instantly died.²

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 221.

² Welsh Chron. p. 222. Holinhead's Chron. p. 73. who says, this accident happened at the siege of Bridge North.

WHILE the English were employed in cutting down the woods, a party of the Welsh, without any orders from their leaders, but who were acquainted with the ford, passed over the river; and made a sudden attack on the van of Henry's army, composed of pikemen, who were considered as the flower of his troops. A warm action ensued; many were slain on both sides; at length Henry gained the passage; and advancing still farther, came to the mountain of Berwyn, where, in order to refresh his forces, he lay in camp several days. The two armies, during this interval, seemed to stand in awe of each other. The English were stationed on the acclivity of the hills; and the Welsh, presenting a dark and formidable front, were posted upon the summit of the opposite mountains. The situation of Henry soon became critical. For the Welsh, watching every movement, and losing no opportunity of cutting off his provisions, reduced his army to great distress for want of victuals and forage; the soldiers being afraid to stir out of the camp. To increase still more his danger, there fell on a sudden such violent rains, as rendered it difficult for his soldiers to stand on their feet in that broken and slippery country; such torrents of water, likewise, poured down from the hills into the vale where he lay encamped, that he was obliged to retire, with great loss of ammunition and of men, and to afford to the Welsh so glorious an occasion of triumph.¹ Deeply wounded with a sense of his disgrace, the liberal spirit of Henry was thrown off its bias. To gratify a mean revenge, unworthy of a hero,

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 222.

of injuring those whom his arms had not been able to subdue, and that, too, in a manner, so wounding to sensibility; he commanded the eyes of those hostages, which had been formerly given him, to be pulled out. Among the number of these unfortunate victims were the two sons of Rhys ap Gryffydd, and two sons of the prince of North Wales.¹

Thus baffled in his operations at land, Henry had recourse to the more effectual measure of attacking the Welsh by sea. With this view he repaired to Chester; and remained there some time, until he had collected his fleet, and had received a reinforcement of ships, which he expected out of Ireland. Having finished these preparations, he suddenly gave up the design, without any apparent cause; and dismissed both his fleet and his army.² Unacquainted as we are with his motives, we can only account for this extraordinary conduct, in a prince so wise and spirited as Henry, from a just or imaginary fear, that his foreign dominions would be attacked while he was prosecuting the war in Wales. Whatever were the motives of his conduct, it is certain that Henry had tarnished the reputation of his arms; and of consequence that the Welsh princes were more strongly confirmed in their revolt.

¹ Holinhead's Chron. p. 73. who says, that besides these above-mentioned, he caused the sons and daughters of several Welsh lords, to be treated with the same severity; ordering the eyes of the young striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and the ears of the young gentlewomen to be stuffed. Welsh Chron. p. 222.

² Welsh Chron. p. 222.

RHYS AP GRYFFYDH, suddenly investing the castle of Caerdigan, gained possession of that fortress; and then invading the adjacent country, he made himself master of the castle of Cilgeran,* a place of the greatest importance, which he levelled with the ground. The Welsh prince, then, with great spoils, returned into his own territories, with an additional lustre to his arms.

A. D.
1166.

To keep up the spirit of revolt, and divide the attention of the English, the prince of North Wales took the castle of Basingwerk, lately fortified by Henry, which he entirely demolished.'

If any thing could have taught the Welsh the strong necessity of union, to counteract the designs of an oppressive and hereditary enemy, it must have been the prosperity which had attended the late exertion of their arms; and which had raised them on a sudden from an ignominious dependence, to manly resistance, and generous sentiments, and to the attainment of their freedom. But a spirit of disunion, inherent in their genius; contracting their views, and governing their conduct, precluded any system of general policy; and the public safety was left to depend upon rude valour, on a country almost inaccessible, on the caprice of accidents, and on the springs of irregular passions.

INSTEAD of giving efficacy to their late exertions, by a more close and firmer union, Owen Cyveilioc, and Owen Vychan,

* Situated on the banks of the Tivi near Caerdigan.

* Welsh Chron. p. 223.

two of the lords of Powys, wrested from a chieftain of eminence, the estates he possessed in that country; and which they divided between themselves. A like spirit of rapacity influenced the other princes of Wales. Breaking the ties of a common interest, the prince of North Wales, and his brother Cadwalader, with Rhys ap Gryffydd, invaded and took possession of the territory of Owen Cyveilioc;¹ who, with the other chieftains of Powys, had so lately joined the confederacy against Henry. A part of this territory Owen Gwynedh retained to his own share; the other parts he gave to Owen Vychan and to Rhys ap Gryffydd.² But Owen Cyveilioc, soon after, by the assistance of an English army, recovered his patrimony; an event of no moment in itself, but only serving to mark the little justice or wisdom which directed the conduct of the confederate princes.³

INFLUENCED by motives, more liberal and manly, the Welsh princes, in the absence of the English monarch, invested the castle of Rhuddlan; lately fortified by Henry, and a place of importance upon the English frontier. The garrison made a gallant defence, and resisted, a long time, and with great spirit, the utmost efforts of the assailants; at length, after a siege of two months, this fortress was taken, and levelled with the ground. With less difficulty, the princes obtained possession of the castle of Prestatyn, which they likewise demolished. The fortifications of Basingwerk having been lately destroyed, this

A. D.
1167.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 223, 224.

² British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 6. ³ Welsh Chron. p. 224.

success gave Owen Gwynedh the entire possession of the maritime parts of Flintshire.¹

A CONCERN of greater importance than the revolt of the Welsh, had of late employed the attention of Henry. He was, at this time, in Normandy, engaged in a war with Lewis king of France. The confederate Welsh princes, desirous of entangling the English monarch more deeply in foreign disputes, sent, in conjunction with William the *Lion*, king of Scotland, ambassadors to the French court ; with an offer of aid to carry on the war against Henry. It does not appear that this proposal was accepted; though it was the first attempt we have seen of the kind, which marked the growing importance of the Welsh princes ; and the influence of which, they were desirous of extending to the continent.²

A. D.
1169.

THE rising prosperity of the Welsh was checked, on a sudden, by the death of Owen Gwynedh the prince of North Wales. He reigned thirty-two years, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bangor. This prince married, for his first wife, Gwladys, daughter to Llywarch ap Trahaearn lord of Pembroke, by whom he had only Jorwerth Drwyndwn, or Edward with the broken nose ; by his second wife Christian, daughter of Gronw the son of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield, he had David, Roderic lord of Anglesey, Cadwallon who was abbot of

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 224.

² Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 534. from V. Epist. prædict.

Bardsey, and Angharad married to Gryffyd Maelor. He had likewise twelve other children by different women.'

It has been often said, that in order to form a just estimate of the happiness of individuals, we are to wait until the period of their lives. It is in the same manner that we must judge of the character of the late prince. We have seen him in the early part of his reign, with equal prosperity and valour, resisting the mighty efforts of a wise and powerful monarch: and with a patriotism that reflected honour upon his judgment, we have seen him, on various occasions, aiding the generous designs of Rhys ap Gryffyd. From what motive, then, shall we account for the change in his conduct? Having gained the advantage in the conflict at Counsylvllt, without any apparent cause, unless it were the expediency of the moment, he himself, under humiliating circumstances, submitted to become the vassal of a foreign prince; and in the consequence, reduced the chieftains of his country to the like dishonourable situation. Instead of affording protection to Rhys ap Gryffyd, which a just policy demanded; we see him, at one time, aiding the designs of the English monarch to crush his gallant coadjutor; and, another time, we see him, wasting the national strength, and diverting its force, and tearing asunder the ties of union and of confidence, by attempting to conquer the territories of Owen Cyveilioc. In-

1 Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 3. According to the Welsh Chron. p. 226, this prince had by his first wife, besides his eldest son Jorwerth; Cynan, Maelgon, and Gwenthian; and by different women, Cynan, Meredydd, Rhun, Llewelyn, Edwal, Howel, Cadell, Madoc, Einion, Cynwric, Philip, Ririd.

spired by the example of Rhys ap Gryffydd, and joined in confederacy with the other Welsh princes, we at length see him, with an increase of importance to his country, recover independency. In this happy period of his days, full of years and surrounded by his children, he relinquished the busy theatre of the world; and, although the mid-day of his life was clouded and inglorious, the evening became serene, and closed with honour to himself and advantage to his country.

SO whimsical and indecisive was the mode of succession, that as many sons of the late prince laid claim to the crown, as were under the influence of ambition, or of a fiery, and turbulent spirit. Jorwerth his eldest son, was unanimously set aside on account of a blemish which he had in his face; and he appears to have resigned himself quietly to the public judgment.* Howel, a natural son of the late prince, born of an Irishwoman, being the first who started for the prize, gained for a time a precarious possession of the throne. David, the eldest son of Owen Gwynedd by a second wife, regarding his own right, in this contest, as indisputable; and disdaining to hold under the sovereignty of a brother, illegitimate and born of a foreign woman, raised

* He had however assigned him for his maintenance, a part of his father's inheritance; the *cantreys* of Nanconwy and Ardudwy; and resided at the castle of Dolwyddelan, situated in the county of Caernarvon. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 7.—This prince was afterwards obliged to take sanctuary at Pennant Melangell in Montgomeryshire, where he died.

an army, fought a battle with his rival, and slew him in the action.* By this victory, David obtained the quiet possession of the throne of North Wales.[†]

A. D.
1169.

MADOC, another son of the late prince, seeing the contention which agitated the fiery spirits of his brothers, with a courage equal to theirs, but far more liberally directed, gave himself up to the danger and uncertainty of seas, which had been hitherto unexplored. He is said to have embarked with a few ships; sailing to the west, and leaving Ireland to the north, he traversed the ocean, until he arrived by accident upon the coast of America. Pleased with its appearance, he left in that country a great part of his people; and returning for a fresh supply, was joined by many adventurers, both men and women; who, encouraged by flattering descriptions of advantage, and sick of the disorders which reigned in their native kingdom, were desirous of seeking an asylum in the wilds of America.[‡]

It seems, as if the death of the late prince of North Wales, had suddenly dissolved the confederacy, and as if the motives for union no longer subsisted. Rhys ap Gryffydd, having lately re-

A. D.
1172.
18th of
Henry II.

* Welsh Chron. p. 227. † Memoir Gweddil Family, p. 7. Welsh Chr. p. 227.

‡ We know nothing of the reality of this discovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydd ap Rhys, who flourished in the year 1470; of Gutwin Owen in 1480; and Cynfrig ap Gronw, near the same period. These bards preceded the expedition of Columbus; and relate or allude to that of Madoc, as an event well known, and universally received, to have happened three hundred years before. See Jones's Musical Relics of the Welsh Bards, p. 19.

† Humfrey Lhuyd. Welsh Chron. p. 228.

duced that part of Powys, which had been the territory of Owen Cyveilioc, gave king Henry the meeting; while he pursued his journey into Ireland. At this conference, he was received into the king's peace, and was confirmed in all the possessions, which he, at that time, enjoyed; and in consideration of which, he offered that monarch a considerable supply of oxen and horses towards the conquest he was meditating; and as a farther pledge of his future fidelity, offered him likewise fourteen hostages. Henry, proceeding in his progress through South Wales, and having entered into the city of *Caer Lleon* upon *Uske*, ejected *Jorwerth* the lord of that place, whose fidelity he suspected. Highly incensed at this outrage, *Jorwerth*, on the king's departure, sent his two sons, with many of his kindred and a number of their followers, to recover possession both of the town and the fortress. They succeeded in part; the town they took and demolished; but they were baffled in every attempt which they made against the castle. The king, pursuing his journey to *Pembroke*, bestowed upon *Rhys* a considerable extension of territory; all *Caerdigan*, *Strath-Towi*, *Arustly*, and *Elvel*. He likewise visited that prince at one of his palaces, called the white house, or *Ty Gwyn*, in the present county of *Caermarthen*; where he delivered up his son *Howel*, who had been long left as a hostage in Henry's hands; he excused likewise for a time the delivery of those hostages which had been lately promised, and remitted also the payment of the tribute until his return out of Ireland.

¹ *Welsh Chron.* p. 230, 231.

THE patriotism of the Welsh prince sunk under the influence of these mutual civilities. The gallant and independent spirit inherited from a long line of ancestors, and which had so eminently distinguished his own conduct; all that the terror of Henry's arms and a series of hostilities could not shake, was done away by a few acts of a well directed courtesy. Forfaking the dignity and importance of his character, except in a single instance, we shall see him in future only as a *satrap* to the English monarch. Mingling in the common mass, and losing for ever the ancient honours of his family, neither this prince nor his descendants, from this period,¹ will retain any marks of sovereignty.²

ON the return of Henry out of Ireland, the expedition having been rendered fruitless by a sickness among his soldiers, he was again met by Rhys ap Gryffydd at Talacharn in Caermarthen-shire; where he paid him the customary duties of a vassal.³

A. D.
1172-

So difficult is it to eradicate the sentiments of freedom out of minds accustomed to the ideas of independence, and so natural are injustice and cruelty to men who are desirous of exterminating that invaluable blessing, that Henry found he had not obtained the point of his ambition, by disarming Rhys ap Gryffydd. Another family, stung with a sense of injury, sprung up to avenge their own private wrongs, and, if possible, for a time, to stem the torrent which was overwhelming their country.

¹ From this period the heads of this family were only distinguished by the title of *Arglwyddi*, or lords. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 75.

² Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 76.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 232.

BEFORE Henry's return into England he had sent a safe conduct to Jorwerth, the chieftain whom he had so lately injured; desiring that he himself, his sons, and all his retainers, would meet him at a certain place on the Borders; that he might conclude a peace with them, and might leave that country in perfect tranquillity. Jorwerth paid instant obedience to the king's summons, and sent orders to his son Owen to do the same, and also to give him the meeting on the road. The soldiers who garrisoned the New Castle* upon Uske, being informed that Owen was upon his journey in obedience to his father's commands, laid wait for the young chieftain, whom they met on the road, and barbarously murdered; unarmed and almost without attendance, and resting in security on the protection of a great monarch. It is not to be supposed, that a magnanimous prince like Henry, had any knowledge of a transaction so cruel, so faithless, and impolitic. Some of the attendants who escaped the massacre, carried the account of it to the father; who, deeply wounded by so poignant an injury, returned home with his other son Howel; determined in future to have no reliance on the faith of the English. Collecting all the Welsh, whom he himself, or his friends could engage in his cause, he made incursions into those parts of Monmouth which were possessed by the English; laying waste those districts, and the bordering counties of England, as far as the gates of Hereford and Gloucester.[†]

A. D.
1172.

THE English king, hearing of this insurrection, appointed Rhys ap Gryffydd chief justice of South Wales.* He thought,

* The present Newport.

† Welsh Chron. p. 232.

• British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

and

and with a penetrating mind, that even the shadow of power, amusing a spirit capricious and vain, might conciliate the affections of this lord; and be a means of diverting his attention from the real dignity and power, which had been wrested from his family.

THE event justified the ideas of Henry. A civil war having broken out between that prince and his eldest son, Rhys ap Gryffydd sent a chosen body of troops to the assistance of the English monarch. A far different spirit influenced the conduct of Jorwerth the other Welsh chieftain. Taking advantage of the dissensions which then prevailed in England, he laid siege to the city of Caer Lleon, of which he was the natural lord, and gained possession of that place; he then invested the castle, which soon surrendered on condition of giving up the prisoners he had taken; and pursuing his success, he brought all Gwent-Is-Coed in Monmouth, except a single fortress, under his subjection.¹

A SPIRIT of rapacity and injustice, very early in his reign, A. D. 1173. had influenced the conduct of David prince of North Wales. By force of arms, he took possession of the island of Anglesey, the property of Roderic his brother;² whom he closely confined in prison; he likewise seized on the territories of the rest of his brothers, and his other kinsmen, whom he also banished the realm.³

To subdue the little virtue which remained in the country, Henry employed a new mode of seduction; a spring that was

¹ Welsh Chr. p. 234.

² Memoirs Gwedir Fam, p. 8.

³ Welsh Chr. p. 234.

A. D. 1175. not likely to fail of success. He gave to David the Welsh prince his sister Emma¹ in marriage; thus disarming an hereditary enemy, by the fascinating influence of ambition and love.² On his marriage with the English princess, David sent over into Normandy a body of Welsh, a thousand in number, to the assistance of the king his brother-in-law;³ Henry being, at that time, engaged in a war with France.

A. D. 1176.
22d of Henry II. SUCH was the state of affairs in the principality of North Wales. The stream ran equally in favour of the English in South Wales. The old king, and Henry his son, held a great council at Gloucester, for settling the peace of South Wales and of the Borders. To this meeting came Rhys ap Gryffydd, just returned in the service of Henry from the siege of Tutbury castle; attended by seven chieftains* of eminence, all of them lords in South Wales, and connected with his family by blood or by alliance: and even Jorwerth, forgetting his injuries, repaired with them to Gloucester, where they all did homage, and made their submissions to the English monarch.⁴ In consequence of this, through the mediation of Rhys, they obtained pardon

¹ By this princess David had a son named Owen. See Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 12.

² Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 205. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 8.

³ Holinshed, vol. II. p. 93. Welsh Chron. p. 235.

* Cadwallon ap Madog, of Melienydd, who was cousin-german to Rhys; Einion Glyd, of Elfel; Einion ap Rhys, of Gwrthrynion, son-in-law to Rhys; Morgan ap Caradog ap Jestyn, of Glamorgan; Gryffydd ap Ifor ap Meuryg, of Senghennyth; Seisyllt ap Dyfnwal, of higher Gwent, brother-in-law to Rhys; and Jorwerth ap Owen, of Caer Leon.

⁴ British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

of the king for all former offences. To render the royal favour more complete, Jorwerth was confirmed in the possession of *Caer Leon*.¹ And, to unite more closely his vassals, both English and Welsh, who were present at the assembly, the king obliged them to take an oath, that if any one should be separately attacked by any other power in Wales, all the rest should unite in his defence.²

It appears, at this period, as if the sense of their native independence, that invigorating principle of action, no longer subsisted in the minds of the Welsh. David prince of North Wales, Rhys ap Gryffyth, Owen Cyveilioc, and other chieftains in Powys, with many of the Welsh nobility, repaired, upon Henry's summons, to a parliament which he held at Oxford;³ a scene, flattering to the English monarch, in which the spirit of the Welsh princes is seen to bend under the influence of superior talents.⁴

A. D.
1176.

The spirit of the times, fostered by deadly feuds and by national hatred, was kept alive, and rendered more ferocious by a series of reiterated injuries. Henry de Hereford, uncle to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock, had been lately murdered by several of those chieftains, who, in the preceding year, had

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 236.

² Benedict Abbas, p. 110. Brompton's Chron. sub. Ann. 1175, p. 1102.

³ Holinshed, p. 101. Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 111. Hovedon, p. 566.

⁴ At this parliament, Henry gave Elefmere in the marches to David prince of North Wales, and the territory of Meirionydh to Rhys ap Gryffyth. Hovedon, p. 566. Benedict Abbas, p. 205.

A. D.
1177.

become vassals to king Henry. To revenge this murder on the heads of the perpetrators, but under pretext of celebrating their late union, William de Bruce invited to an entertainment at his castle of Abergavenny, Seisyllt ap Dyfnwal, Geoffry his son, and many other chiefs of the most considerable distinction in Gwent. In the midst of their festivity, with a view of inflaming their minds, and of giving some colour to the baseness of his design, he informed the Welsh chieftains, that in future they should not travel armed either with their swords or their bows; and he instantly required them to take an oath for the due performance of the same. It is easy to imagine in what manner a fiery and high-spirited nobility would relish so imperious a command, which they would only consider as a badge of their slavery. It was universally rejected. On a signal, then, being made, a number of armed soldiers, who had been stationed in the castle for this purpose, rushed into the hall, and massacred the Welsh lords.* Not satisfied with the blood which he had already shed, Bruce, attended by his ruffians, proceeded to the house of Seisyllt, at no great distance, which he set on fire; then, seizing the wife of that chieftain, and murdering in her presence her infant son, he carried away the wretched mother to the castle of Abergavenny.† As the justice of Henry did not severely punish this outrage, which every law of prudence and humanity demanded, we have the liberty of thinking, that even that great prince knew, when to relax its usual vigour and firmness.

* Matth. Paris, p. 110.

† Welsh Chron. p. 236, 237. Wynne's Hist of Wales, p. 204.

RODERIC, who had been lately imprisoned by his brother the prince of North Wales, broke out of his confinement, and fled into Anglesey; where he was universally received by the people as their sovereign; David, the reigning prince, having rendered himself odious by his cruelty, and having grown bold in the exercise of tyranny, by his alliance with the English king. David, unable to oppose, thought it prudent to withdraw from the storm, and retired for security to the English side of the Conway; retaining in his possession only the castle of Rhuddlan, and the territories adjacent, which he held by the assistance of an English garrison.* The young prince Llewelyn, the son of Jorwerth Drwyndwn, was at this time under the protection of his uncle Roderic, and resided in his court.†

CADWALADER, the brother of Owen Gwynedh, having been forced, by the severity of that prince, to reside some time in England, and to solicit the assistance of Henry; was at this time murdered by the English on his journey into Wales, while he was travelling under the safe conduct of the king. This breach of public faith soon met with exemplary punishment. All the persons concerned in the murder were condemned to the gibbet.‡ Such an act of justice, politic to the last degree, throws a lustre, in this instance, on the wisdom and humanity of Henry's government.§

A. D.
1179.

* Welsh Chron. p. 236, 237. † Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 8. ‡ Ibid. p. 9.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 116. says Cadwallon; but he was slain before the death of his father. See Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 1. Welsh Chron. p. 238.

§ This prince was the Lord of Caerdigan, and usually resided at the castle of Aberystwyth. Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 6, 7.

A. D.
1184.

THE sword of justice, however, a few years after, was taken up by the Welsh themselves, enforced by the spirit of revenge; a spirit of all others the most potent in uncultivated minds. It seems, that Ranulph de Poer the sheriff of Gloucester, had been concerned with William de Bruce in the massacre committed, seven years before, in the castle of Abergavenny. And it is with reluctance we are obliged to relate, that this infamous transaction appears to have been perpetrated through the secret influence of the English king.* The nephews and the sons of Seisyllt ap Dyfnwal, and of the other chieftains who had fallen in the late scene of barbarity; having by this time arrived at a manly age, were strongly incited to revenge on the English, the murder of their kinsmen and parents. In pursuit of this design, early in the morning, they assaulted the castle of Abergavenny; and having scaled the walls, took possession of that fortress, and burning it to the ground, they carried away prisoners the governor and his wife, with all the garrison. The young chieftains, not having met with the objects of their vengeance, stormed another fortress lately erected by Ranulph de Poer, near Monmouth; the garrison of which, unable to resist their fury, was driven down into the fosses of the castle, and slain by the launces of the enemy. Ranulph de Poer, with nine of the most distinguished persons in Monmouth, perished in the general carnage; and William de Bruce, himself, sorely wounded, and overwhelmed in the fosse, was with difficulty rescued, and scarcely escaped with his life.†

* Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

† Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. lib. I. cap. IV. Roger Hovedon, p. 617.

INCENSED at this outrage, the king of England advanced with a large army to Worcester, with the design of punishing the revoltors. His resentment however was appeased by Rhys ap Gryffydd; who repairing to that city took fresh oaths of allegiance, and promised to deliver up, as pledges for the peace of the country, his son and his nephews.* But the young men, having in memory the fate of those hostages, so lately the victims of Henry's resentment, absolutely refused to place themselves in the same perilous situation.²

A. D.
1184.
30th of
Henry II.

THE views of the English monarch were, at length, nearly accomplished; the unremitting efforts of his power and his policy, had subdued the spirit, or had seduced from their virtue, a disunited and improvident people. The fate of this nation was, however, suspended, by the death of its formidable enemy Henry the second. His eldest son Richard succeeded to the throne of England.³

A. D.
1189.
35th year of
his reign.

THE pages of the Welsh annals are discoloured at this period by hideous pictures of savage manners. Influenced by the "spirit of the first born Cain," a brother's arm is raised

* Holinhead, p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welsh Chron. p. 240.

² Holinhead, p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welsh Chron. p. 240.

³ This event was followed by the death of Gryffydd Maclor, the son of Madoc ap Meredyth the son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. He was buried at Mivod, and was lord of the two Bromfields and Mochnant-Is-Rhaider, and left one son named Madoc, which he had by Angharad, daughter of Owen Gwynedh, to succeed to that part of his father's inheritance which was called Powys Vadoc. Welsh Chron. p. 242.

in horrid succession against a brother; the parent¹ and his children by a course of injuries are engaged in mutual hostilities, tearing asunder the ties of affection and of nature.² Scenes, such as these, so expressive of horror, disgust the eye of humanity; and as the objects which they present, are only of a private nature, and do not relate to great or to public concerns, it is with pleasure that we turn to the more agreeable prospects, which are opening to our view, of order, and justice, of freedom and national importance.

¹ Rhys ap Gryffyth.

² Welsh Chron. from page 240 to 250.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH TO
THE DEATH OF DAVID AP LLEWELYN.

JORWERTH the son of Owen Gwynedh, on his father's decease, had been set aside from the succession of North Wales, on account of a personal blemish. His son Llewelyn, by this time, arrived at years of maturity, and desirous of asserting his indubitable right to the throne, solicited the assistance of his friends in Powys; his mother being the daughter of Madox the chief of that family. With the aid which he obtained from thence, and what he received from his own kinsmen in North Wales, he demanded ~~the~~ crown in preference to David his uncle. The claim of the young prince, assisted by his popular talents, was allowed. In this easy manner was Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, placed in the sovereignty of North Wales. His uncle David, the late reigning prince, retained in his possession only a few fortresses which were garrisoned by the English.

A. D.
1194.

A. D.
1194.
5th of
Richard I.

RICHARD king of England, returned, at this time, into his own dominions; having engaged four years before in a croisade to the Holy Land; led away by his own romantic spirit, and the epidemic frenzy of the age.

A. D.
1195.

DURING the absence of the English monarch in France, the archbishop of Canterbury was appointed justiciary of the realm; and repairing to the Welsh Borders¹ with a large army, he laid siege to the castle of Pool, the property of Gwynwyn the son of Owen Cyveilioc. But finding his endeavours to take the place by storm not successful, he began to undermine the walls; which the garrison perceiving, yielded up the fortress, on condition that they should be allowed to depart with their arms. The works of the castle being strengthened, and an English garrison placed in it, the archbishop returned into England. On his departure, it was retaken by the original proprietor, on the same conditions on which it had been given up before.²

A SERIES of hostilities with his sons, had of late years im-
bittered the peace, and had marked the conduct of Rhys ap
Gryffydh.³ Having at length ended the unnatural contest, by
surprising two of his sons, and securing their persons in prison,

¹ Roger Hovedon; p. 775.

² Welsh Chron. p. 248.

³ In the first year of king Richard's reign, Rhys ap Gryffydh came into England as far as Oxford, conducted by the earl of Moreton. And because the king would not personally meet the said Gryffydh, as his father had done, he fell into passion and returned into his own country. See Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 459.

he revolted from his allegiance to king Richard; being desirous of enlarging his territories, or touched by a sense of returning virtue. The absence of the English prince, during his residence in foreign countries, might encourage the most sanguine hopes; and afforded to Rhys a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his designs. The revolt opened by laying siege to the town and castle of Caermarthen, of which he easily gained possession; then, after laying waste the adjacent country, he led his army into the marches, and invested the castle of Clun; which, after a long siege, and many terrible assaults, he made himself master of, and entirely demolished. From thence he proceeded to Radnor, which fortress he likewise obtained. To the defence of this place Sir Roger Mortimer came with a considerable body of well armed and veteran troops, which were opposed by the raw and almost unarmed soldiers of the Welsh prince; who, falling from the castle, drove the English, after a bloody action, out of the field. He then proceeded to Payne castle in Elvel, which having reduced, he delivered it back to William de Bruce on certain conditions.'

A. D.
1195.

THE late enterprises, which had given a lustre to his declining day, closed the career of Rhys ap Gryffydd; and, in a little time after, he quitted this world, on the stage of which he had exhibited uncommon versatility of character.* If there had been

A. D.
1196.

* Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

* He was interred in the Abbey of Strata Florida (*Ystrad Fflur*) in the county of Caerdigan, which he himself had erected; and which became the burial place of the succeeding lords of his family. Manuscript of Edward Llwyd in Sir John Seabright's collection. Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan Hengwrt, p. 19. Welsh Chr. p. 247, 248.

less of caprice in his conduct, if his valour, his patriotism, and other talents for command, had been directed by a steady and uniform principle, the name of this prince would have appeared with the highest glory in the annals of his country; the honour and the liberties of which, he, at times, defended, with so much zeal and success.

A. D. 1197. DAVID, the lately deposed prince of North Wales, assisted by an army of English, and a body of Welsh who still adhered to his fortunes, made an attempt to recover the sovereignty he had lost. But the enterprise was easily disconcerted by the rapidity of Llewelyn; who, advancing to give his uncle the meeting, defeated his forces, took him prisoner, and lodged him in confinement.¹

ALTHOUGH by the combined influence of policy and power, the English had at length obtained the ascendancy in South Wales; individuals were frequently hurried into revolt, by the perfidious and inhuman conduct of the lords of the marches: but the ineffectual efforts of this miserable people to recover their liberties, or to avenge their wrongs, as they acted only from the spur of their feelings, without concert or prudence, served only to rivet more closely their chains. Trahaearn Vychan,

¹ At the close of this year Owen Cyveilioc died, leaving the higher Powys to his son Gwenwynwyn; which territory in future was called by the name of that chieftain, to distinguish it from Powys Vadoc, the other division of that country. This prince was a Bard of some eminence; a few poems of his are extant at this day, A. D. 1197. Welsh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

a chieftain of distinction in Brecknock, as he was repairing to Langors to confer on business with William de Bruce lord of that country, was arrested by order of the English baron ; tied to a horse's tail, and in that ignominious manner dragged through the town to the gallows, where he was beheaded, and his body suspended by the feet three days.'

In revenge of this outrage, Gwenwynwyn laid siege to the castle of Matilda* in Elvel, the property of William de Bruce ; declaring that after he had gained possession of that fortress, he would set fire to all the country as far as the Severn ; a sacrifice which he owed to the manes of Trahaearn Vychan his kinsman. Not having any miners in his army, or battering engines, the Welsh chieftain lay three weeks before the castle ; which delay gave time to William de Bruce to send into England for succour. Geoffrey Fitz Peter, justiciary of England, instantly came to his relief, having joined to his army the different powers of the lords of the marches ; and as the event of war was uncertain, he was desirous of terminating the dispute by concluding a peace with Gwenwynwyn. The offer was rejected with disdain. The Welsh declared their firm resolution of avenging, in this enterprise, the ancient wrongs of their country. The English, then, released out of confinement Gryffydd, the son of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd ; between whom and Gwenwynwyn they knew, at this time, subsisted a deadly feud ; and being joined by the forces raised by that chieftain, they advanced to the relief of the castle

A. D.
1198.
9th of
Richd. I.

* Welsh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

* In the present county of Radnor

of Matilda. Confident of his strength, Gwenwynwyn faced the English in an open plain ; though experience might have convinced him of the prudence of a different conduct. In this action the Welsh were defeated ; if that can with propriety be called an action, in which no other loss was sustained by the English army, than that of a single soldier, and even that soldier slain by a random arrow from his own party. Besides the wounded and the prisoners, many of whom were of considerable note, three thousand and seventy of the Welsh were left dead on the field.* It is not easy to account for the facility with which the English obtained this victory. The rashness of the Welsh leader was probably the cause of his defeat ; in fighting on the open plain, with such troops as his own, undisciplined and slightly armed, against a firm and well appointed body like the English.

A. D. 1199. At this time Richard king of England was slain at the siege of Chalons, an inconsiderable town in Limosin. John his brother succeeded to the throne.

DEEPLY engaged in foreign concerns, the English prince, on his accession, sent Hubert de Burgh his chamberlain, with one hundred knights, to protect the marches on the confines of Wales.† A treaty of peace was, likewise, concluded between Llewelyn ap Jorwerth prince of North Wales, and the earl of Essex justiciary of the realm. In this treaty, Llewelyn, with the

* Matth. Paris, p. 162. Holinhead, p. 154. Welsh Chron. p. 252, speaks of the defeat, but not of the number slain.

† Roger Hovedon, p. 819, Holinhead, p. 163.

principal chieftains of his realm, swore to the observance of the following articles. To maintain perpetual fidelity to king John, in the fulness of feudal ideas. To receive at the hands of the justiciary of England livery and seisin of his territories ; which he was to hold in security until the king's return. On the arrival of the English king, when summoned to appear, he should come and pay homage to him as to his liege lord ; but when that duty was performed, he was to return into his own country in perfect security ; only liable to pay a strict obedience to any summons of the like nature. In consideration of this, the king was to pardon all offences committed prior to the day of pacification ; but if any complaints should arise in future, it was to be in Llewelyn's choice, whether the cause should be tried by the laws of England, or by those of Wales. If he chose that the merits of his cause should be tried according to the English law, a court was to be appointed in England ; where judgement should be given, agreeably to the laws of that country. If the prince was desirous that the Welsh laws should determine the controversy, and it were found on inquiry that he had a right to take cognisance of such a matter, the cause should then be decided in his own court ; but if it were found otherwise, the king, in that case, was to send some of his own subjects, eminent for their wisdom, into the territory of Llewelyn, and where the matter was in controversy, before whom the cause should be tried, and judgement given by a certain number of Welshmen, selected from places at a distance, as being on that account not liable to the suspicion of partiality ; and their award was to be final. If after the ratification of the peace, any injury should be done by Llewelyn.

welyn to the king, or to any of his subjects, reparation should be made agreeably to the award of some of the English nobility, particularly mentioned for that purpose. But it was also required from those arbitrators, that they should administer judgement with justice, to the honour of God and of the king. If any injury was done in the English territories, and the offenders should escape into the dominions of Llewelyn, and the persons suffering the damage, or others, pursuing them into the said dominions, that Llewelyn should cause the plunder to be restored, and execute justice on the malefactors. If the offenders should have escaped into the territories of Llewelyn, or concealed themselves therein, that prince, then, engaged to do all in his power to obtain satisfaction, as if the injury had been done to himself.

A. D.
1202.
3d of
John.

This peace was signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and by the son of the justiciary of the realm; who set their seals to the writing as a security for the due observance of the treaty, until it should be ratified by the king on his return into England. The tenor of this treaty, though in general formed on the principles of justice, was so fully expressive of vassalage, that it seems, as if the independency of Wales was annihilated.¹

THE peace with England afforded Llewelyn the opportunity of exerting the native vigour of his mind. Some time before, he had confiscated the estates of Meredydh his cousin,² and had banished him the realm upon a suspicion of treason.³ He thought

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 123.

² The Cantreys of Llun and Evionydd, situated in the South West parts of Caernarvonshire. *Hist. Gwedir Family*, p. 20.

³ *Hist. Gwedir Family*, p. 20.

an interval of leisure could not be more usefully employed, than in attempting to restore the ancient constitution of his country; a rude though venerable fabric; which, having long remained a monument of its pristine grandeur, had fallen into decay in the lapse of ages.

THE Welsh princes, by the laws of Roderic the Great, and by those of Howel Dha, though independent in their own territories, yet acknowledged the sovereignty of North Wales. To connect the loose and separated parts into one system of government, Llewelyn convened an assembly of all the chieftains throughout Wales. These nobles, sensible of the advantage of union, and of adhering to ancient forms, took the usual oaths of fealty.¹ Gwenwynwyn, alone, the lord of the higher Powys, refused to attend the meeting, or to take the oath of allegiance. His refusal being known to the assembly, they declared, that he ought to be compelled to the performance of his duty, or to forfeit his territories, as a part of the feudal obligation. One chieftain, alone, of the name of Elis, refused his consent to any mode of compulsion, and suddenly withdrew from the meeting. Deeply interested in the event, Llewelyn did not suffer the seeds of disobedience to mature by time into stronger resistance. He led an army into Powys; but that force, by the mediation of several persons in estimation for wisdom in the country, was rendered unnecessary; and Gwenwynwyn made his submission to the prince of Wales, which he confirmed by the usual formalities. Resenting the conduct of Elis, Llewelyn took possession:

¹ British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

of his estates, and obliged him to fly out of the country; but that chieftain, soon afterwards, yielding himself up to his mercy, had a castle, with some land, assigned him for his maintenance.

A. D.
1203.

Having so happily finished this important measure, Llewelyn returned into North Wales.*

THE English king, having lost a great part of his territories in France, returned into England. On his arrival, he gave Joan, a daughter, which he had by a lady of the house of Ferrers, in marriage to Llewelyn; as a reward for the due observance of the late treaty, or as a means of securing those advantages, which he might think would naturally result from such an alliance.

A. D.
1204.
5th of
John.

With this lady, was given as a dower, the lordship of Elefmore in Shropshire.†

PRINCE LLEWELYN, in his youth, had married Tangwystl, daughter of Llywarch Goch the lord of Rhos; by whom he had a son, very brave, called Gryffydd ap Llewelyn; who, as heir apparent, had the *Cantreus* of Englefield, Rhos, Rhyvonioc, and Dyffryn Clwyd given him by his father, being the country adjoining to England; in order that the young prince might be induced, by a closer motive of interest, to defend his own territories, from the common enemy the English. He married, during his father's life, Sina daughter of Cariadoc ap Thomas.*‡

* Welsh Chron. p. 257, 258.

† Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 22. says she was a legitimate daughter. Fabian, in his reign of John says, that she was a natural one. Welsh Chron. p. 259.

‡ Ap Roderic ap Owen Gwynedd. § Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 24. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

DAVID, the deposed prince of North Wales, having been set at liberty by his nephew, fled into England; and procured in that country an army to assist him in recovering the throne. The enterprise failed of success; he was met on his march by Llewelyn, and his army defeated; and some time after, that unfortunate prince, with his son Owen, were slain at Conway.*

GWENWYNWYN, the chief of the higher Powys, having repaired to Shrewsbury, that he might confer with the lords of the council, was arrested by their order, and detained a prisoner; without any apparent cause, unless to extort, as conditions of obtaining his liberty, the following concessions. That he should, in the usual forms, become a vassal to the king of England; that he should serve him faithfully as holding under him his life and territories; that he should abide the justice of his courts whenever summoned to attend; that he should deliver up twenty hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and should remain in custody until those hostages were all given up. At the same time the king bound himself to take his territories under his protection, and to be responsible for any injury which they might receive.†

A. D.
1208.

IN this situation of Powys, Llewelyn invaded the territories of the imprisoned chieftain, and gained possession of all his castles and towns; he then marched into South Wales, and

* Welsh Chron. p. 259

† Hist. Gwedir Fam. p. 13.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 260.

§ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 151.

after some flight successes, returned into his own country.¹ The same year, however, in consequence of Llewelyn's submission, as appears by his letters directed to the king at Bristol, a full pardon was granted him by that monarch, for the depredations he had lately committed on the territories of Gwenwynwyn, while under his protection ;² which pardon appears also to have been confirmed the year following ; as the Welsh prince did homage, either in person or by proxy, to the king at Woodstock.³

A. D.
1209.

THE earl of Chester, having made an inroad into North Wales, rebuilt the castle of Diganwy upon the water of Conway, which had been lately demolished by Llewelyn ; he likewise more strongly fortified the castle of Holywell.* The prince of Wales, in return, invaded the earl's territories, defolated a great part of them, and carried away considerable plunder.⁴

A. D.
1210.

INCENSED at this incursion, and breach of fidelity, John assembled a large army at Oswestry, upon the Borders of Wales. He was there joined by many of the Welsh chieftains his vassals ; the most considerable of whom were Madoc ap

A. D.
1211.
12th of
John.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 261. ² Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 151.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 191. who says, that this was the first homage which had ever been heard of, and that such journeys were very oppressive both to the rich and poor.

* *Treffynnon*.—A. D. 1210. This year died Maud de Bruce, wife to Gryffyth ap Rhys, and was buried in a monk's cowl, at Strata-Florida, by her husband. Welsh Chron. p. 264.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 262.

Gryffydd Maelor, and Gwenwynwyn, who on this occasion was restored to his liberty; besides the two sons of Rhys, the late prince of South Wales. With this formidable army he marched to Chester, in the full resolution of exterminating the people of North Wales.*

LLEWELYN, unable to resist a force, composed not only of a foreign enemy, but of his own vassals, who had basely deserted their late engagements, thought it prudent to withdraw from the storm; and he ordered the inhabitants of the inland country,† to remove with their goods and cattle to the mountains of Snowdun. The English army, advancing along the sea coast, came to Rhuddlan;‡ and from thence to the castle of Diganwy,§ opposite to the country of Snowdun, where they remained for some time. But Llewelyn so continually infested the roads with his light parties, that John and his forces were reduced to the greatest difficulties. By cutting off their provisions as they arrived out of England, the army was reduced to the necessity of feeding upon the flesh of horses; and the soldiers, whenever they stirred from the camp, were liable to be cut in pieces; the Welsh, from a knowledge of the country, and from being posted on eminences, had usually the advantage in every skirmish. From this situation, John thought it prudent, after the loss he had

* Welsh Chron. p. 264.

† Parts of Denbighshire and Flintshire.

‡ Red Banks; and which might probably take its name from the appearance of the country; or from the battle, so fatal to the Welsh, which was fought upon Rhuddlan marsh.

§ Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welsh Chr. p. 264.

sustained, to retreat into England, stung with disgrace, and breathing the spirit of revenge.'

A. D.
1211.
12th of
John.

HAVING augmented his army, a few months after, the king came again to Oswestry; and being there joined by the Welsh chieftains* who were his vassals, he advanced to the Conway; which having passed, he encamped his forces upon the banks of that river. He then dispatched a detachment of his army, attended by proper guides, to burn the town of Bangor. The design was executed with spirit and success; the place was set on fire, and Rotpert the bishop of that diocese taken prisoner, though afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks. Llewelyn, seeing the power of Wales and of England combined against him, and that power, too, commanded by an English monarch, who had penetrated far into his country; and seeing also that he, himself, was confined within the extreme verge of his dominions, thought it more prudent to sue for peace, at the expence of some important concessions, rather than to hazard the whole, by carrying on so unequal a contest. As he had in his own person so little pretension to the king's clemency, having lately violated the probable conditions of his pardon, Llewelyn thought it more wise to negotiate by the mediation of his wife. This princess so powerfully interceded

* Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welsh Chron. p. 264.

* Howel ap Gryffydd ap Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd; Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, Lord of Bromfield, Chirk and Yale; Meredydh ap Rotpert, lord of Cydewen; Gwenwynwyn, lord of Powys; Maelgon and Rhys Vychan, the sons of prince Rhys of South Wales.—Welsh Chron. p. 264.

with

with her father, that he was willing, on certain conditions, to take Llewelyn into favour. Hostages were sent to that prince, that he might with safety repair to the English camp; where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the conditions of giving forty horses, and twenty thousand head of cattle, towards defraying the expences of the war; he likewise ceded to the king for ever the inland parts of his dominions. Twenty-eight hostages were given by Llewelyn, as a security for the observance of the treaty. After this fortunate expedition, king John returned into England.¹ Resenting the conduct of those military vassals who had not served him in the late expedition, he exacted from every knight, a scutage of two marks of silver.²

A. D.
1211

Thus was the remnant of the British empire, after many and gallant struggles for freedom, driven almost to the verge of the ocean. But the prosperity of this injured people, though deeply clouded for the present, was not extinguished for ever. Their native spirit, confined in narrow limits, and set on fire by the agency of various causes, burst through every restraint; and, like the irruptive violence of a volcano, poured down devastation and vengeance upon the heads of their hated oppressors.

THE wild disorder in the conduct of the king of England, happily for posterity, had convulsed every part of his domi-

¹ Annales Margan, p. 15. says thirty-two hostages. Welsh Chron. p. 265. Thomas Wykes, p. 36. Chron. Walter Hemingford, p. 556.

² Matth. Paris, p. 193, 194.

nions ;

nions; and, aided by superstition, had loosened every spring of government, and every tie of duty or affection which binds the subject to the prince. The Pope, at this time, released Wales from the interdict under which that country had lain; and also absolved Llewelyn from the oaths of homage and allegiance which he had taken at the late peace.*

A CONJUNCTURE so favourable determined Llewelyn, if possible, to rescue his country from the vassalage, into which it had fallen by the necessity of affairs, and the disunion of its chieftains. He convened, for this purpose, Gwenwynwyn, and Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, the lords of Powys; with Maelgwyn ap Rhys from South Wales, and Meredydh ap Rotpert from Cydewen. To these chieftains, he represented the miserable situation of their country, owing to their own want of virtue, in having basely deserted its interests; he assured them, that even now, by their spirit and united exertions, instead of living voluntary and abject vassals under the pressure of a foreign yoke, they might still enjoy their ancient liberties under the dominion of their native princes. Superstition, or the force of his reasoning, or the mingled effect of both, impressed on the minds of these capricious chieftains, a momentary gleam of patriotism. They once again took the oaths of allegiance to the prince of North Wales. Being joined by their several powers, Llewelyn commenced hostilities; seizing all the fortresses which the English possessed in his dominions, and putting to the

A. D.
1212.

* Matth. Paris, p. 194. Annales Waverleicensis, p. 174. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 26.

sword, with a barbarous rage, all the knights and soldiers who defended them.* In the course of this inroad, he set on fire many villages, and carried away very considerable plunder.^a Not being able to make any impression on the castle of Rhuddlan, and on the strong fortrefs of Diganwy, he fell with great fury upon Powys, and invested the castle of Mathraval, lately fortified by Robert Vepont; but the strength of that fortrefs, delaying, some time, his operations, gave John an opportunity of coming to its relief. On his approach the confederates retired. Having caused this fortrefs to be demolished, king John returned into England, more important objects, in his own dominions, demanding his attention. Llewelyn, on the king's departure, again rendered the marches a scene of desolation.^b

As soon as John heard of these incursions, of the ravages which Llewelyn had made, and of the cruelties he had exercised on his prisoners, he advanced to Nottingham, with a great army of infantry and horse; in the full resolution of chastising the revoltors, by exterminating the inhabitants of the country. So violent was his anger, that the moment he arrived at that town, he commanded the hostages, twenty-eight in number, to be instantly hanged; and he refused to take any refreshment until the execution was over.^c The most cruel of the Roman tyrants, those scourges of the human race, had surely, at this instant, infused his infernal spirit into the soul of the English monarch.

A. D.
1212.
13th of
John.

* Welsh Chron. p. 266.

^a Matth. Paris, p. 194.

^b Welsh Chron. p. 267.

^c Matth. Paris, p. 194.

These innocent victims,¹ delivered up to John at the late peace, were all of them very young, and allied to the most distinguished families in Wales.² This tragedy being finished, while he was yet at table, meditating vengeance on the Welsh, he received two letters; one of which was from the king of Scotland, and the other was from his daughter,³ the wife of prince Llewelyn. These letters, though proceeding from different quarters, conveyed to him the same alarming intelligence, that a dangerous conspiracy was forming against his life. This information threw the English monarch into the deepest dismay; he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, where he continued a fortnight in a sullen and gloomy solitude; scarcely any person whatever being admitted into his presence. Having made no farther discovery in the affair, time at length dispersed his fears; and persisting in the design of subduing the Welsh, he advanced to Chester. He once more received in that city, from the princess his daughter, intimations of the same dangerous import; that if he advanced any farther, his ruin was inevitable; as he would certainly be either murdered by the nobility in his own army, or be betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The king's firmness, and his desire of revenge, gave way to these repeated alarms; fear and distrust took possession of his mind; and hearing, at the same time, that the Pope had dis-

¹ At the same time Robert Vepont hanged Rhys the son of Maelgwyn, a child not seven years old, at Shrewsbury. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

² Annales Margan, p. 15. Holinshed, p. 176. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 267.

solved the allegiance of his subjects, he dismissed his army on a sudden, and returned to London '.

THE animosity which is natural to men, who had just broken asunder their fetters, and who were eager to recover their liberty, was heightened still more by the spirit of enthusiasm. The Welsh had not only been released from the oaths which they had taken to John, but the Pope had likewise denounced his bitterest curses, if they did not, under the banners of the church, rise up to fulminate its vengeance ; by attempting the utter destruction of a prince who had presumed to condemn his authority. Influenced by these powerful motives, the inhabitants of the inland country, which at the late peace had been ceded to John, acknowledged the sovereignty of Llewelyn.* He soon after obtained possession of the castles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan ; places of great importance on the frontier of his kingdom.' Thus were the English, by a sudden turn in affairs, entirely driven out of North Wales.† The dissensions, at this time, prevailing in England, favoured the generous designs of Llewelyn. But that prince, instead of checking the current of his fortunes, took advantage of the tide which was flowing in his favour, and pressing forwards with an eager spirit after glory, extended the circle of his conquests, and added fresh reputation to his arms.

A. D.
1214.

* Matth. Paris, p. 194. Brady's Hist. England, p. 482. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 173. Thomas Wykes, p. 37. Holinshed, p. 176.

† Annales Waverleienfis, p. 174. Welsh Chron. p. 268, 270. s Ibid.

‡ Annales Margan, p. 15.

A. D.
1215.
16th of
John.

THE barons of England, having renounced their allegiance to king John, on his refusal to confirm their constitutional rights, entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn prince of Wales.¹ It seems, as if this alliance had given great alarm to the English monarch, as he sent an order to Llewelyn to meet his commissioners at Griffin's Cross; that the Welsh prince might confer with them on matters of importance, which related to his honour and his interests.² With a versatility of conduct, which insulted the common sense of mankind, the Pope, at this time, excommunicated Llewelyn and all his adherents; for having made war upon a prince,³ recently the object of his vengeance, but who of late had been admitted into the bosom of the church; a privilege he had meanly purchased by concessions, degrading to the dignity of princes, as well as injurious to the rights of his people, and the imperial crown of his ancestors. In defiance of this anathema, Llewelyn made an incursion into Powys, and, with much ease, gained possession of the town and castle of Shrewsbury; no longer intimidated by censures so scandalously prostituted, nor by oaths of allegiance from which he had been lately absolved.

A. D.
1215.

ON his return into his own dominions, and in order to strengthen the interest of his family by a powerful alliance, Llewelyn gave his daughter in marriage to Reginald de Bruce, an English lord of great eminence, in South Wales.⁴

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 270. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 182.

² Rymer, p. 196.

³ Annales Waverleienfis, p. 182. Welsh Chron. p. 271.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 273.

SINKING under the censures of the Church, Giles de Bruce, an English baron, deserted the confederacy, and made his peace with the English king. Llewelyn, firm to his engagements, and active in support of the common cause, instead of shrinking from the danger, invested with a considerable force the castle of Caermarthen; which, after a resistance of five days, he made himself master of, and levelled with the ground. The same fate attended the fortresses of Llanstephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. To keep alive the spirit of his troops, he marched into the district of Caerdigan, and gained the castles of Emlyn, Cemaes, and Newport; then closing the campaign by the reduction of the castles of Caerdigan and Cilgerran, he returned into his own dominions. In this expedition, he was attended by all the confederate chieftains, whose attachment to his interests he had hitherto secured, by the vigour and wisdom of his conduct.¹

THE late fortunate campaign having given to the Welsh prince a great part of South Wales, he came again into that country as the lord paramount; to arbitrate some disputes which had arisen in the family of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd. Having adjusted the several claims by a division of the country in dispute, as he was returning into his own dominions, he received intelligence that Gwenwynwyn, the lord of the higher Powys, had renounced his allegiance, and was again become a vassal to the English king. This information gave Llewelyn the greatest uneasiness; he saw the evil that would arise, if a chieftain of such

A. D.
1216.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 273. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 26.

influence and power, should, at a juncture like this, desert the confederacy ; when fortune had hitherto so happily favoured the united exertion of their arms. Desirous, by the mildest means, of drawing him back to a sense of his honour and duty, Llewelyn sent to him several bishops and abbots to remonstrate on the nature of his conduct. The prelates pointed to the oaths he had violated, shewed him the very deed subscribed by himself, and which he had given as a pledge of his fidelity ; the clemency also of the prince he had offended, and the danger of exposing to the resentment of Llewelyn the hostages which were left in his hands. These considerations were urged in vain. Gwenwynwyn was obstinate, and would listen to no terms of reconciliation. That his justice, then, might punish the delinquency of a vassal, whom his mildness had not been able to reclaim, Llewelyn instantly invaded Powys, laid waste with fire and sword the territories of that chieftain, and obliged him to fly for protection into the dominions of the earl of Chester.'

THE confederacy, of late, had received a sanction and a strength, by the accession to their party of Lewis the Dauphin of France. Despair, and the dread of a tyrant, had suggested the wretched alternative, and had hurried on the dangerous expedient. Unable to resist the malecontent barons, increasing both in power and importance, the English king retreated to Hereford ; and from thence, sent to solicit the aid and protection of Reginald de Bruce, and of his son in law the prince of Wales. Neither ties of affinity, nor the emotions of pity, had, however,

² Welsh Chron. p. 274.

any influence on the conduct of Llewelyn. On just principles of policy, he rejected the solicitations of the unfortunate monarch. Experience, and the strength of his mind would inform him, that no confidence ought to be placed in a prince so weak and capricious; that the ascendancy which his arms had lately obtained over England, was principally owing to the distracted state of that kingdom; and that it was his duty, as the guardian of the public weal, to foment its dissensions; the liberties and even the safety of his own country depending upon the weakness, or intestine divisions of the English.

RESENTING this conduct in the Welsh prince, John demolished the castles of Radnor and Hay; after which, proceeding farther into the marches, he set fire to the town of Oswestry.¹ But, in a little time after, disgrace and misfortunes still pursuing his conduct; a victim to fatigue, to sickness and a broken spirit, this weak and miserable prince ended his days. His son, Henry the third, yet an infant, succeeded to the crown of England.

A. D.
1217.

ON his accession to the throne, Reginald de Bruce, who had lately married Llewelyn's daughter, returned to the allegiance which he owed to the English monarch; deserting in a moment of caprice the solemn engagements which he had made to the prince of Wales. It seems in these miserable ages, as if oaths, and the other sacred ties of society, had lost all their power of binding the conscience.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 275.

RESENTING the defection of such a powerful baron, so closely united to his family, Llewelyn made an incursion into the territory belonging to Bruce; and invested Brecknock* its principal town. But the inhabitants, imploring his mercy, he consented to raise the siege, on condition of receiving five hostages, and one hundred marks. Pursuing his march towards Gwyr, and, passing over the black mountains in Glamorgan, he had the misfortune to lose many of his carriages. While his army lay encamped at Llangruc, Reginald de Bruce came, attended by six knights, to implore the clemency of his father; a favour which he easily obtained; being not only received in the mildest manner, but having also a fortress delivered up to him, as an additional proof of that prince's confidence. Having regulated the affairs of that province, Llewelyn continued his route into Pembroke; and at Cevn Cynwarchan, he received proposals of peace from the Flemings who were settled in the country. He, at first, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation; and part of his army having passed the river Cledheu in order to attack the Flemings, the bishop of St. David, attended by his clergy, repaired to the prince of Wales; in hopes that his own solicitations, and the influence of religion, might soften his resentment. The intercession of the bishop, at length, prevailed; and a peace was concluded, on the conditions, that the inhabitants of Rhos and Pembroke should be subject to the prince of North Wales; and, as their liege lord, should hold of him their estates, under the duties of homage and fealty; that they should pay him one thousand marks towards defraying the charges of the war, and should like-

wife deliver up twenty hostages, of the first note in their country, as a pledge of their future fidelity.* By the activity of his spirit and the vigour of his conduct, Llewelyn had made himself almost the entire master of Wales. And, as neither ferocity nor injustice had directed his arms, he returned from the late campaigns, encircled with more solid glory than could be derived from conquests, which are only illustrious from the wide sweep their ravages have taken.

THE ardour had subsided, with which the English barons had at first engaged in the cause of Lewis the Dauphin of France. The duplicity of his character, and the insolency of his spirit, had rendered him the object of distrust and of hatred. The great talents of the earl of Pembroke seized the fortunate moment. Guided by sentiments of the purest patriotism, he drew back to their allegiance the revolted barons; and settled the distracted state of the kingdom on principles the most humane, liberal, and wise. In this treaty, equally with the king of Scotland, Llewelyn was included; on condition that he should restore all the places which he had seized during the war.†

It is probable, on this occasion, that the prince of Wales received a summons to repair with the chief of his nobility to Hereford; as an order was sent to Hugh Mortimer, that provided Llewelyn came to that city, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, he should escort him to Northamp-

* Welsh Chron. p. 278.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

A. D.
1218.
1st of
Hen. III.

ton; where he and his attendants were to do homage to the king.¹ It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any regard to this summons; as at this time, the earl of Pembroke, by force of arms, took possession of the city of Caer Leon;² and in the following year, the Welsh prince received a similar order to appear before the king at Gloucester, there to perform his homage, in presence of the council and of the Pope's legate. To this summons Llewelyn thought proper to pay obedience. Being absolved by the legate, he ratified by oath the conditions of the treaty; promising to restore, with their respective territories, the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan; as well as all other lands and fortresses which had been taken during the war from Henry's vassals in South Wales. Under the like solemn engagements, he promised, by every means in his power, that all the nobility in Wales should do homage to Henry, as to their liege lord; that none of his enemies should be allowed protection in Wales; and that, whatever injuries the king might receive, he would revenge them as if they had been done to himself.³

IN so prosperous a state of his affairs, we are at a loss to account for a change, so sudden, in the conduct of Llewelyn. The wisdom and vigour of Pembroke's administration, or the dread of spiritual anathemas, acting upon his own superstition, or on that of his people, might have shaken, at length, the firmness of his mind. If we consider his conduct, as only derogating from the dignity of an independent sovereign, the idea of dishonour is

¹ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

² Welsh Chron. p. 278.

³ Rymer, vol. I. p. 225.

lost in the nature and habits of a feudal government. Even the king of Scotland, the year before, had performed the same duty at Northampton. But the homage which was paid by that prince, was due by mutual agreement, for the fiefs he possessed in England; whereas the duties imposed upon Llewelyn, had been extorted, at various times, without any equivalent. As it is *opinion* alone that gives dignity to princes and energy to government, these claims of the English, assuming a royal jurisdiction over Wales, and rising every day into precedent, were highly dangerous to its freedom, and were eventually the means of sapping the foundation of its power. A tacit acquiescence in claims successively made, in length of time constitutes a right. The habit of seeing the Welsh princes, passing as vassals through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, would naturally produce, in the minds of the English, contemptuous ideas of an enemy, whom hitherto they had only heard of at a distance, or had seen spreading terror and conflagration through the frontiers of their country. The Welsh, too, must lose much of that veneration which they themselves had been accustomed to feel for their princes; when, instead of seeing them at the head of armies, asserting the public freedom, they saw them, on every call which pride or policy suggested, deserting the dignity of their stations; and like obsequious vassals, falling at the feet of a fastidious monarch, the hereditary foe of their nation. In the habit of considering their country as a fief of the crown of England, a fond attachment to its interests, a sense of national glory, and all manly ideas of patriotism, would lose their energy and force, and would sink at length into a cold in-

difference to its fate. Having neither empire nor freedom to contend for, their valour and their mountains would be equally useless, and no longer fed from its parent source, their native spirit, eager for liberty, and impatient of controul, would naturally subside into a tame and hereditary submission.

A. D.
1219.
2d of
Henry III.

IN consequence of these important concessions, the king sent to acquaint Llewelyn, that several of the Welsh nobility had paid their homage; and enjoined him to give them possession of their estates; he likewise required that the remaining chieftains should be sent to perform their stipulated duties.¹ Agreeably to this injunction, Llewelyn sent Rhys ap Gryffydd, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, to do homage to Henry. But, with an inconsistency of conduct, accounted for only by the levity of the times, he placed new levies of soldiers in the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, instead of delivering them up in conformity to his late engagements.² With a view of extending his interest still farther among the English nobility, Llewelyn gave one of his daughters in marriage to John de Bruce, a powerful baron.³ And some time after, he likewise married another of his daughters to a Scots lord, who was nephew and heir to the earl of Chester.⁴

A. D.
1219.

THE Flemings having seized by force on the castle of Caerdigan, Llewelyn marched into that country; and regaining possession of it, he razed the fortress, and put the garrison to

¹ Rymer's Fœdera, p. 227.

² Welsh Chron. p. 279.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 279.

⁴ Holinshead, p. 204.

the sword. Advancing into the territory of Gwys in Pembroke, and, likewise, destroying that castle, he set fire to the town; then, penetrating farther, he continued his ravages into the country adjoining to Milford Haven; and as far as the castle of Haverfordwest.¹

A. D.
1220.

IN consequence of this inroad, Henry dispatched a letter to Llewelyn, complaining of the late violation of the peace, of his neglect to appear at Oxford, and afterwards in London, agreeably to the different summonses which he had received; enjoining him, at the same time, to repair to Worcester on a certain day, to answer the charges which might be brought against him.² The prince of Wales did not pay obedience to this summons. Instead of obeying the mandate, he laid siege to the castle of Buellt, the property of Reginald de Bruce; who sending to the king intelligence of his danger, that prince came to his relief.³ Llewelyn, seeing his forces inferior to the English, raised the siege. The king, then, on his return towards the marches, rebuilt the castle of Montgomery, in a situation which he thought impregnable; and as a check to the incursions of the Welsh.⁴

A. D.
1221.
5th of
Henry III.

AMIDST the anxieties which attended Llewelyn in his public situation, his private peace was embittered by the turbulent spirit of his eldest son Gryffydd. That young prince had seized

¹ The cantreys of Rhos and Daugledheu, or two swords. ² Welsh Chron. p. 279.

³ Rymer's Fœdera, p. 249. ⁴ Rymer, p. 261. Welsh Chron. p. 280.

⁵ Matth. Paris, p. 262.

A. D.
1223.

on the Cantrev of Meirionydh; and affected to hold it independently of his father's authority. Not of a temper tamely to bear such an insult, the prince of Wales commanded his son to appear before him. Gryffydd refused to obey his commands. Resenting this undutiful demeanour, Llewelyn swore that he would take ample vengeance on his son, and on all his adherents, for the dishonour which they had thrown upon his character as a sovereign and a father; and with this design, he marched a considerable force into Meirionydh. Gryffydd, determining to abide the issue of arms, raised his followers, and met Llewelyn in the field. But during the action which ensued, an accommodation took place; and the son, yielding himself up to the mercy of his father, and imploring his forgiveness, was received into favour. But though Llewelyn, amidst the conflict of arms, indulging the tender feelings of a parent, had thought proper to pardon his son, he did not entirely forget the offence; but with a just severity, deprived him of that district, which had been the cause of so flagrant a failure in his duty.¹

UNDER the influence of chagrin, respecting a division of property, Rhys, the son of the late Gryffydd ap Rhys, joined the party of the earl of Pembroke; who, at this time, was in arms against the Welsh. To punish the defection of his vassal, though he had been lately sent to do homage in the court of England, Llewelyn took possession of the castle of Aberystwyth and all its dependencies. The Welsh chieftain, upon this, repaired to Henry, to complain of the injury, and to solicit his

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 280.

² Ibid. p. 281, 282.

protection.

protection. The English king commanded Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewsbury; and that prince obeying his order, the dispute was amicably settled.¹

IN the absence of the earl of Pembroke, at this time in Ireland, the prince of Wales laid waste his territories, and took two of his castles; and then, with a savage spirit, cutting off the heads of the soldiers he had found in these fortresses, and placing garrisons in them out of his own army, he made good his retreat.² In order to chastise Llewelyn for this cruel transaction, Henry came with an army into the marches; but, without performing any military exploit, he soon returned into England; the earl of Chester having interceded in behalf of the Welsh prince, and having engaged for him that he should, by a certain day, make full restitution for the injuries he had committed. But, Llewelyn seeing the danger had passed over, was not very attentive to fulfil the engagement.³

THE earl of Pembroke, hearing of the ravages committed on his territories, landed with a strong body of forces at the city of St. David; and having recovered the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, he retaliated on the Welsh garrisons the like cruel treatment which his own soldiers had lately received from

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 281, 282.

² Chr. Tho. Wykes, p. 41. Chronica Walteri Hemingford, p. 564. Matth. Westm. p. 86. Matth. Paris, p. 267.

³ Chronica Walteri Hemingford, p. 564.

Llewelyn.¹ To preserve his dominions in South Wales, which his enemies were destroying with terrible devastations, the Welsh prince sent his eldest son Gryffyth with an army of nine thousand men. Having advanced to Cydweli, intimations were given to the young prince, that the inhabitants intended to betray him to the enemy; upon which, in resentment of their perfidy, he laid the town and all the churches in ashes.² The earl of Pembroke then passed the Towi at Caermarthen, and an action immediately ensued. It was fought with great valour and with doubtful success; but in the evening each party retired from the field of battle, the river forming a line between the two armies. In this situation, they lay several days opposite to each other; at length the Welsh prince, in want of provisions, was obliged to break up his camp, and to return into North Wales.³

THE earl of Pembroke proceeding to Cilgerran, began to erect a fortress; but receiving an order from Henry to come up directly to court, he left the work to be completed by his soldiers.⁴ At the same time a summons was sent to Llewelyn, that he should appear before the king at Shrewsbury, attended by his wife, his son Gryffyth, and the chief of his nobility; the English prince expecting that by the force of his authority alone he should be able to terminate the dispute.⁵ A truce however was only obtained; and each party, intending to renew

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 282. Matth. Paris says, that the earl marshal, in the course of this campaign, slew and took prisoners nine thousand men. P. 267.

² Welsh Chron. p. 282. ³ Welsh Chron. p. 282. ⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 282.

⁵ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 287.

hostilities,

hostilities, returned to their respective territories. The design of the earl of Pembroke, who had been joined by the forces of other English lords, of marching into Pembroke, was defeated by the rapid movements of Llewelyn; who dispatched his son Gryffydd to take possession of the pass at Carnwyllion; whilst he himself took post at Mabedryd. The openings into the country being thus obstructed, the earl of Pembroke retired into England, and the prince of Wales into his own dominions.¹ The archbishop of York, on this occasion, excommunicated Llewelyn; and his dominions were laid under an interdict, until he had made satisfaction to king Henry; which if not performed within six months, his subjects were then to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance.²

A. D.
1225.

FEW incidents worthy of notice occur, for some years, in the history of these times. A trivial circumstance produced an event of some national importance. The soldiers belonging to the castle of Montgomery, assisted by the natives of the country, attempted to open a road through an adjoining forest; a deep and extensive cover of fifteen miles in length, which had long afforded to the Welsh a secure retreat; and who issuing from thence, frequently pillaged and murdered the passengers. While the workmen were thus employed in cutting down the woods, they were suddenly attacked by a body of the Welsh; who, with great slaughter, obliged them to fly into the castle; which they invested, and laid siege to in a regular manner. In this

A. D.
1228.
12th of
Henry III.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 283.

² Rymer, vol. I. p. 282.

extremity, the garrison sent into England for assistance; and Henry, attended by Hubert de Burgh, on whom the castle of Montgomery had been lately conferred, came to its relief with all possible dispatch. On the approach of the English king the Welsh raised the siege.¹ Having received a reinforcement, Henry ventured to penetrate the recesses of the forest. With infinite difficulty he opened a passage for his army, by setting fire to the woods; and at length arrived at a solitary place called Cridia, of the Carmelite *order*, an abbey belonging to the white friars. Having been informed that this religious house had been used by the Welsh as a place of retreat, he laid it in ashes; and its situation being judged impregnable, Hubert de Burgh, with the king's consent, laid the foundation of a castle.²

In the middle of a deep forest, in an enemy's country, and surrounded by their flying parties, the situation of the English monarch was exceedingly perilous. Three months did Henry employ his whole army, and expose it to various dangers, in attempting to build an insignificant fortress. In the course of which time, the Welsh, watching every movement, intercepted his convoys, and frequently cut in pieces his foraging parties. William de Bruce, whose ferocious manners we have often recited, having been sent into the country in search of provisions, was taken by Llewelyn and thrown into prison. Provisions at length grew exceedingly scarce. To heighten his distress, Henry,

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 295.² Matth. Paris, p. 295.

too, had much cause to fear that treason had pervaded his camp ; as several of the English lords in the interest of Llewelyn, had sent that prince intelligence of each occurrence, and had assisted him, to the utmost of their power, in obstructing and defeating the enterprise. In a situation so critical, the pride and resolution of Henry gave way to a sense of danger. He found it expedient to give over his design, and to conclude a peace with Llewelyn ; on the condition, of levelling with the ground the castle he had lately finished ; in the building of which he had wasted so much time, and treasure, as well as the blood of his subjects. The prince of Wales on his part, agreed to pay Henry three thousand marks, towards defraying the charges of the war ;^{*} and also that the right owner of this territory should hold it as a fief of the crown of England.[†] He also made his appearance in the English camp, to pay his respects to king Henry ; but in no measure on the footing of a subordinate prince to do him homage.[‡] In this manner ended the campaign, inglorious, it is true, to the English monarch, yet reflecting little lustre on the military talents of Llewelyn ; who surely might have obtained better terms from an enemy, surrounded with difficulties, and entangled like a lion in the toils.

To inure still more the Welsh to ideas of vassalage, Henry sent a safe conduct to his nephew to repair to his court ; where David the second son of Llewelyn received a pension of forty

A. D.
1229.

^{*} Matth. Paris, p. 295.

[†] Matth. of Westminster, p. 94. Holinhead, p. 210.

[‡] Welsh Chron. p. 284.

pounds a year, until a better provision could be given him; having first done homage, and sworn to hold his reverfionary dignity as a fief under the crown of England.* The little value of the bribe, compared with the object, is a proof, that at this period, fcarcely an idea of difhonour was annexed to vaffalage.

A. D.
1230.

LLEWELYN had yet another blow to fustain, which was an injury of all others the moft poignant. William de Bruce, taken prifoner at the affair of Montgomery, on paying a ranfom * of three thoufand marks, had been releafed from his captivity the following year. He foon after, by furprife, fell again into the fame fituation; and, as it is faid, having been difcovered in carrying on an amour with the Welch princefs, the fifter of Henry and the wife of Llewelyn, he fuffered an ignominious death by the command of the injured hufband.† Whether the crime for which he fuffered was real, or only imputed to him as a pretext for vengeance; his fate, however, was juftly due to the tenor of a life, deeply tinged by perfidy, and marked by the bloody traces of a fpirit the moft cruel and ferocious.

To account, it is probable, for the late tranfaction, three of the Welch clergy were fent by Llewelyn, under a fafe conduct into

* Rymer, p. 311.

† Welch Chron. recites, that he offered the cantrev of Buellt, befides a large fum of money. Page 284.

* Matth. Weftm. p. 97, fays, with other Englifh writers, that he was put to death without reafon. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2431. Chron. Walteri Hemingford, p. 572. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 193. Pol. Virgil, p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 307.

England. The prince of Wales, himself, received a summons to appear before the king at Shrewsbury;¹ who seemed to resent the murder of the English lord, or the stroke of justice which had lately taken place. Instead of obeying this order, Llewelyn led an army into the marches; and, still pursuing his revenge, laid waste the territory lately belonging to Bruce;² and then, with the same fury continuing his progress, no place scarcely upon the English Borders was left free from his devastations.³

To check these ravages, Henry came with great celerity into the confines of Wales. On the king's approach, Llewelyn retired to the mountains. Finding his presence no longer necessary, the English prince left Hubert de Burgh, with a detachment of his army, to preserve the peace of the Borders.⁴ A different body of the Welsh, hearing that the king had retired, made an incursion into the land adjoining to the castle of Montgomery. On the return of this party, the English, having taken possession of a post which cut off their retreat, suddenly attacked the Welsh; and putting to the sword the greater part of their numbers, the remainder were brought into the castle as prisoners. The captives were instantly beheaded at the command of Hubert de Burgh the justiciary; and the heads of these unfortunate men were sent as a present to king Henry.⁵ The Welsh already began to taste

A. D.
1231.
15th of
Hen. III.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 310. Holinshed, p. 213.

² He was lord of Brecknock in South Wales, and of Pembre in Suffex. See Edward Lhuyd's MSS. in collection of Sir John Seabright.

³ Rymer, vol. I. p. 317. Matth. Paris, p. 310. ⁴ Matth. Paris, p. 310.

⁵ Matth. Paris, p. 319. Polidore Virgil, p. 309.

the bitter fruits which they themselves had produced, by a voluntary surrender of their rights ; and, indeed, by tamely submitting to be considered as the vassals of a foreign prince, they gave some colour of justice to the cruel spirit of their enemies.

It was not in the nature of the times to enter into subtle distinctions, or into a cool discussion of rights, which the timidity or weakness of the Welsh princes had often brought into controversy ; it was more suited to the feelings of men, warm, irascible, and vindictive, to determine their merits, or to punish their infringement, by the more prompt decision of arms.

LLEWELYN, having heard of the outrage lately committed on his subjects, again laid waste the English Borders. Besides other acts of ferocity, which in this incursion marked his progress, some ladies of distinction, venerable for their years, and virgins of a tender age, having taken sanctuary in one of the churches which was set on fire, perished in the flames, the indiscriminate victims of his fury.¹ In the general consternation Hubert de Burgh fled into England. The prince of Wales, bearing down all opposition, took by assault the castle of Montgomery, the scene of the late transaction ; and, making himself master of the different fortresses of Radnor, Brecknock,* and Rhaiadrgwy, he invested Caer Lleon. After sustaining considerable loss in attempting in vain to reduce the castle, that city was taken ; and, with the church, reduced to ashes. The same fate attended the castles of Neth† and Cydweli. And, with a barbarity disgrace-

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 310.

* *Aberhonddu*.

† In Glamorganshire.

ful to Llewelyn, the soldiers who had defended these fortresses, all perished in the flames.'

THIS outrage, or act of retaliative justice, being reported to king Henry, he applied to the Pope for his spiritual aid; and that Pontiff, ever fond of weaving his own interests into the concerns of temporal princes, excommunicated Llewelyn, and all his adherents.¹ Henry, also, commanded his vassals in Ireland, to co-operate with his arms in the enterprise which he had formed against Wales; offering them at the same time the alluring reward of possessing such estates as they might by their swords obtain from the Welsh.² He convened at Oxford, an assembly of his military tenants, and the principal clergy in his kingdom; and drawing from thence an army of considerable force, he marched to Hereford.⁴

A. D.
1231-

THE army of Llewelyn was, at this time, encamped in a meadow, at a little distance from the castle of Montgomery, lately recovered by the English; in a part of which field was a morass. Near to this place was an abbey called Cymer, of the *Cistercian order*. A friar of this house, was directed by the Welsh prince, to convey, if possible, false intelligence to the garrison. The soldiers in the castle, seeing the friar passing with that design under the walls, entered into conversation with him, and seemed desirous of being informed of Llewelyn's situation. He told them, that the prince of Wales lay encamped in a certain meadow.

¹ Annales Margan, p. 18. Welsh Chron. p. 287.

² Matth. Paris, p. 320.

³ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 318.

⁴ Matth. Paris, p. 311.

at no great distance, attended only by a small body of men, waiting for a reinforcement; and that he had broken down a bridge, which kept the communication open, for fear of a sudden attack. They inquired then if a body of horse could safely pass the morafs, the bridge being demolished; he told them, that they might not only pass with security, but might also defeat their enemies, or put them to flight, with an inconsiderable force. Being thus informed, a party of the garrison sallied out on horseback. Their approach being perceived, the Welsh, seemingly with great precipitation, retreated into a wood. This apparent flight animated the English to pursue them with eagerness; and deceived by their intelligence, the advanced party plunged deep into the morafs; many of which were, in an instant, either suffocated or drowned. The Welsh, at this moment, perceiving their disorder, rushed out of the wood, and with their spears easily put to death the remainder; who, encumbered with their horses and armour, and entangled in the morafs, were incapable of making any defence.¹ This disaster accelerated the approach of the English army; and as it passed by the abbey, king Henry, in resentment of the friar's treachery, set fire to the *grange* or farm; and proceeding to do the same by the monastery itself, the abbot saved it from destruction, by paying as a ransom three hundred marks. Having no other employment for his army, he rebuilt with stone the castle of Matilda; which had in former wars been demolished by the Welsh.* In this manner ended

A. D.
1231.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 311.

² Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585, built by Matilda wife to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock, Matth. Paris, p. 311.

a campaign, which, considering the mighty engines employed, seemed to menace this ancient people with inevitable ruin.

In the mean time, Llewelyn thought proper to consent to a short truce;¹ on terms of reciprocal advantage, and, in some measure, on the footing of independent states.

SOME infractions of the peace having been made on the part of the English, Llewelyn sent complaints to king Henry, that no satisfaction had been given him, though he himself had been willing to make reparation for any injury done by his subjects. Henry, in return, acquainted the Welsh prince, that his own avocations at present, did not allow him to attend to his complaints; but that he would in a season of more leisure come into the marches, and there render him full restitution for any injuries which he might have sustained.² A conference having been agreed on by the two princes, Llewelyn, under a safe conduct, came to Shrewsbury.³ At this meeting, the commissioners, appointed by either party, agreed to the following stipulations, which were immediately ratified by Henry. That a mutual restitution should take place of such estates which had been obtained in the course of the war: That the commissioners should fix the value of the damage, and determine by whom the reparation was to be made: That if any new matter of complaint should arise during the truce, the point in dispute should be finally decided by the commissioners; each prince engaging to abide by their award. In

A. D.
1233.
17th of
Hen. III.

¹ Rymer, vol. I. p. 319. Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 553.

² Rymer, p. 320.

³ Rymer, p. 325.

this treaty, Llewelyn was obliged to renew his homage, and to give security for preserving the peace of the English realm.¹

A. D.
1233.

THE violent conduct of Henry and his ministers had at length driven many of the English barons into open revolt. Of the most considerable note were the lord Pembroke earl marshal, Gilbert Basset and his brothers, Richard Siward, and Walter de Clifford. These lords, withdrawing from the danger which threatened them, retired into Wales; and entered into a firm league with Llewelyn; engaging each other, by the most solemn ties, not to form any treaty, or conclude a peace, but with the common consent of the confederacy.² Alarmed at this revolt, rendered formidable by an union with the Welsh prince, Henry convened his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester.³

IN the mean time, the confederates laid desolate the marches, conveying away the cattle and other provisions.⁴ They likewise received an accession of strength on being joined by Hubert de Burgh * the justiciary of England; who, having been persecuted to the utmost peril of his life, had escaped out of prison, and fled into Wales.⁵ Henry advanced into the enemies territories, as far as Hereford; but finding that country entirely laid waste, and fearing lest his army might perish for want of necessary

¹ Rymer, p. 327.

² Matth. Paris, p. 326. Polidore Virgil, p. 301.

³ Ibid. p. 326.

⁴ Ibid. p. 328.

* Among other frivolous crimes objected against this minister, he was accused of purloining from the royal treasury a gem, which had the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable, and of sending this valuable curiosity to the prince of Wales. Matth. Paris, 259.

⁵ Matth. Paris, p. 328.

sustenance,

sustenance, he made good his retreat, and remained some days in the castle of Grosmont. The English army, which lay encamped in the open field, was attacked in the night by the earl marshal; who, finding no discipline in the camp, easily surprised it; taking, besides other plunder, five hundred horses, and obliging the confused and terrified soldiers to fly with precipitation within the walls of that castle. He had likewise the good fortune to take possession of the money, provisions, carriages, and other furniture belonging to the king's army. Pembroke, in this critical moment, did not pursue his success. He gave an exalted proof of moderation and duty. Out of respect to his sovereign, confined in the castle, he offered no further hostilities; but retired before break of day to a secure situation, enriched with the spoils of the English camp. Many of Henry's courtiers, having lost their military equipments, left the army on this disaster, and returned into England. The king himself, amazed, ashamed, and confounded at this sudden and disgraceful blow, having first reinforced with foreign soldiers all his castles upon the English confine, retreated to Gloucester; in which city he passed the Christmas holidays, in hopes that his presence upon the Borders might be a means of keeping the malecontents in awe.'

A. D.
1233.
17th of
Hen. III.

THE active spirit of the earl marshal, no longer restrained by Henry's presence, formed the design of laying siege to Monmouth. Baldwin de Guines, a knight of great valour, and

* Matth. Paris, p. 328. Polidore Virgil, p. 301.

a native of Flanders, was then in the town; having been left by Henry with a strong body of foreign troops* to protect the marches. Seeing the earl of Pembroke deeply engaged in reconnoitering the walls, attended only by one hundred knights, he sallied out of the castle at the head of a considerable part of the garrison. Pembroke had time to retire; but his high courage disdained to avoid the danger. A terrible conflict ensued; and though the earl marshal exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and prowess, yet such was the superior number of the enemy, that he was very near being carried off prisoner; if at that instant, Baldwyn de Guisnes had not himself received a wound; which being deemed mortal, the attention of his troops was diverted to the safety of their general, and gave an opportunity to the confederate army to come to the relief of the marshal.¹ Nothing decisive taking place, the earl of Pembroke invested Caermarthen; but the town being gallantly defended, he lay three months before it, being incapable of making any impression; and at length, a supply of provisions, and a reinforcement, being thrown into the place by sea, he was obliged to raise the siege.²

To divert the enemy's attention, during these operations, Llewelyn made an inroad into the country of Brecknock, destroying all the towns and fortresses belonging to that territory; he then invested the castle of that name, and lay before it a month; but, all his efforts proving fruitless, he raised the

* From Flanders and Poitou.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 329.

² Welsh Chron. p. 289.

siege; and, setting fire to the town, pursued his route into the marches. In the course of which, conflagration and ruin still marking his progress, he burned the town of Clun, demolished Redde castle in Powys, and laid Oswestry in ashes.¹ It seems, as if a treaty of peace had been in agitation during the late transactions; as Henry, in a letter to Llewelyn, complained that his commissioners, agreeably to appointment, had repaired to Colewent, but had not there met the deputies out of Wales. In answer to which, Llewelyn informed the English king, that his commissioners had been prevented from coming to that place, by the floods and by other impediments; declaring in the mean time that he himself would preserve the peace of the Borders, and requiring that Henry on his part should perform the same.* It is somewhat extraordinary, that a negotiation of so mild a nature should be carried on amidst the shock of arms, and under the irritation of deep and reiterated injuries.

A. D.
1233.

To oppose a confederacy, rising into importance by the daily accession of the English nobility, John lord of Monmouth, distinguished for his valour and military talents, was appointed warden of the marches. That he might open the campaign with credit to his arms, he entered the confines of Wales with a considerable body of foreigners; in hopes that by a sudden and vigorous impression he might surprise the earl marshal; or that, by taking him off, he might strike at the root of the revolt. He so directed his operations, as to be enabled, as he

A. D.
1234.

¹ Welsh Chron p. 288.

² Rymer, vol. I. p. 328, 329.

thought, to assail his enemies during the silence and darkness of the night. The spies of the earl of Pembroke, having given him intelligence, that the royal army was on its march to surprise him, that general laid an ambuscade to counteract the design; by posting his troops under the cover of a wood, adjoining to a road which the enemy were obliged to pass. In this situation he waited their approach. The English troops under Monmouth, marching, as they thought, in security, and little suspecting a surprise, was beset on a sudden by a part of the earl's forces; who, rushing out of their cover, easily put their enemies to flight, confounded by the darkness of the night, and the loud shouts of their assailants. Numbers were slain on the field; and many flying into the wood, were cut in pieces by the troops which had been stationed there by the marshal to intercept the fugitives. John lord of Monmouth their general, with a few of his attendants, saved themselves by a precipitate flight.¹ Pursuing his success, the earl marshal made severe reprisals on the estates of the king's foreign counsellors which lay upon the Borders; and with keener animosity, laid waste the lordships which were the property of the lord of Monmouth; destroying several of his houses and villages.²

FLUSHED with this success, Llewelyn and the earl marshal, having united their forces a few months after, made another inroad into the English marches; and having rendered all that country a scene of devastation, they concluded their fiery career by laying part of the town of Shrewsbury in ashes.³

¹ Polidore Virgil, p. 301. Matth. Paris, p. 332. ² Ibid. ³ Matth. Paris, p. 332.

DURING the time that the confederates were masters of the field, and had spread horror and conflagration through the Borders of England, Henry remained at Gloucester, timid and inactive; as though he had been an indifferent spectator of the scene.¹ The prelates, on this occasion, and the few English lords who still preserved their allegiance, urged Henry to accommodate the dispute with the malecontent barons. Instead of listening to this salutary advice, that prince, equally vehement and weak, removed his court to Winchester, declaring that he would make no peace with the earl marshal, unless he came with an halter about his neck, and on his knees before the throne, should acknowledge himself to be a traitor. Pembroke rejected the proposal with disdain.²

A. D.
1234.
18th of
Henry III.

HENRY'S ministers, in despair of subduing that lord by any other means than by treachery, excited his vassals in Ireland to revolt; under the pretence that all his estates were forfeited to the crown. Informed of the machinations of his enemies, the earl of Pembroke passed over into that kingdom, attended only by fifteen knights. In this country, by the perfidy of one of his own vassals, he was taken prisoner in an action, after having maintained a long and unequal fight, and having given extraordinary proofs of his valour; his horse being hamstrung, and he himself dismounted and wounded in the back. This gallant warrior languished in confinement fourteen days, and at last died by the treachery of an Irish surgeon.³

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 332.

² Ibid.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 333, 335, 340.

A. D.
1234.

THE violence in the English administration had risen to a crisis. The prelates of the realm, joined by the temporal lords, being assembled in parliament at Westminster,* called loudly upon the king to redress their grievances, and to settle the distracted state of the kingdom.† Necessity obliging him to listen to the voice of his people, Henry dismissed his foreign ministers; and dispatched the prelates of Chester, Rochester, and Canterbury, into Wales; to treat with Llewelyn, and the English barons in confederacy with him;‡ the king himself repairing to Gloucester, to be ready to forward their negotiation. The prince of Wales was exceedingly averse to enter into terms of accommodation. To induce that prince to comply with their wishes, the prelates ventured to mingle threats with their other persuasions; by informing him, that if he refused their offers of peace he would certainly draw upon his head the vengeance of the church. To this menace, Llewelyn replied, that he was more influenced by the piety of king Henry and by the alms which he gave, than by the terror of his arms though aided by the whole power of his clergy. He, at length, consented, that a peace should be settled upon the basis of integrity and justice; and, as an essential article of the treaty, he provided, that all the English barons, who were confederate with him in the war, should be taken into Henry's favour, and be re-established in their honours and estates. These conditions, however humiliating, were ratified by the English king; who

* Ad Colloquium ap Westmon.

† Matth. Paris, p. 333. Brady's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 559.

‡ Brady's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 335.

sent letters to the malecontent lords to repair to him at Gloucester; where they received the kiss of peace from Henry as a pledge of his grace, and were likewise reinstated in their rights and inheritances.¹ At the same time, it is probable, to adjust some particulars left unfinished in this treaty, a safe conduct was sent to the deputies of Llewelyn to come into England.² With the justice which is due to historical truth, we have frequently censured the character of Llewelyn; it is now with pleasure that we contemplate a conduct which was just and manly, liberal and wise; and which, at the same time that it gave to his country unusual importance, placed him in the rank of the most distinguished of its princes.

A. D.
1234-

THE pleasure which the late event must have afforded Llewelyn, no doubt, dilated his heart, and softened his feelings in favour of his eldest son Gryffyth; whom, at this time, after six years confinement, he released out of prison.³ We are not acquainted with the nature of the offence, by which Gryffyth had again incurred his father's displeasure. But there was a rigour interwoven into the destiny of this gallant prince, which discoloured the whole tenor of his life, and has marked him the child of adversity.⁴

A. D.
1234-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 292. Polidore Virgil, p. 302. Matth. Paris, p. 340.

² Rymer's Fœdera, p. 332.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 292.

⁴ At this period (A. D. 1236.) died Madoc ap Gryffyth Maelor, lord of the Lower Powys, or Powys Vadoc; he was buried in the abbey of Llan Egwessl, or the Vale of Crucis, near Llangollen in Denbighshire, which he himself had erected; and left a son named Gryffyth to succeed to his territories. Welsh Chron. p. 293.

LLEWELYN having sent complaints to the English king, that the earl of Pembroke had seized a castle belonging to Morgan of Caer Lleon, and had taken his property and wasted his territories; that prince expressed his disapprobation of the injury which had been done to the Welsh chieftain, and appointed impartial persons to arbitrate in the dispute. He had already cited the earl marshal to appear before his commissioners; and he also summoned the Welsh prince to attend, either in person or by his deputies.* In consequence of which, a truce for one year longer took place at Tewksbury, on the following conditions; that full restitution should be made to Morgan of Caer Lleon for the injuries which he had received since the commencement of the late peace; that the subjects of both kingdoms should retain all their rights and estates of which they were then in possession; that on sufficient proof of any injury having been sustained, restitution should be made to either party, the damage not being prior to the truce; that neither of the princes should receive into his protection the subjects belonging to the other; and that no new castle should be erected, or any old one repaired in the marches.† In consequence of this, a safe conduct was sent by the king to Llewelyn's commissioners to repair to Shrewsbury, and there to swear to the conditions of the truce; and also to name arbitrators, who were to act on the part of the Welsh prince with the English commissioners, with whom rested the final decision.‡

A. D.
1236.
20th of
Henry III.

* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 353.

† Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 564. Rymer's Fœdera, p. 368.

‡ Rymer's Fœdera, p. 369.

THIS year died Joan the wife of prince Llewelyn; and, agreeably to her own desire, was buried upon the sea-shore at Llanvaes in Anglesey. To do honour to her brother the king of England, or as a tender memorial of regard, Llewelyn erected over the grave of this princess a monastery of bare-footed friars; a testimony of respect to her memory, which renders at least doubtful the criminal part of her conduct; and may, in some degree, take away the stain which history has cast upon her fame.

A. D.
1237.

THE tranquillity of the times afforded leisure to Llewelyn, having with so much dignity settled his foreign concerns, to pay some attention to the interior government of his own kingdom, by fixing before his death the order of succession. He convened, for this purpose, all the chieftains in Wales to meet him at Strata-Florida;* where they renewed their oaths of allegiance, and likewise did homage to David, his son by the princess of England, in preference to his eldest brother Gryffydd. So alive was Henry to the dependency of Wales, that he even regarded with a jealous eye the late homages, which had been paid to the young prince his nephew; and in consequence he sent him a summons to repair, under a safe conduct, to Worcester. About the same time, the peace was continued for a year longer on principles of reciprocal justice.

A. D.
1237.

LLEWELYN's glory, which has appeared with so bright a lustre, resembles the last effort of the vital spirit; which acquiring

* Welsh Chr. p. 293. See note in Hist. of Gwedir Fam. p. 23. * *Ystrad Eflur*.

* Welsh Chron. p. 297. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 372, 373.

force in the moment of its extinction, and exerting a transient vigour, is exhausted on a sudden, and sinks into dissolution. Worn out with cares and incessant action, Llewelyn was now grown old, infirm, and paralytic.¹ In this melancholy close, hastened no doubt by his late violent exertions, he seems to have lost the native vigour of his mind; by giving up, in a moment of weakness, the great object for which, during a long reign, he had contended with so much valour and success. The desire of repose, with the eager wish of establishing his favourite son David in the succession, by thus insuring the protection of the English king, were perhaps the motives which influenced his conduct. Whatever his motives were, he gave notice to Henry, that being in years, and desirous of peace, he was willing to put himself under his protection, and to hold his dominions in future as a fief of the English crown; offering at the same time, that whenever the necessities of England should call for assistance, he would be ready to furnish troops, and to give other aids, agreeably to the duties of a vassal.²

A. D.
1237.
21st of
Henry III.

THE bishops of Chester and Hereford were employed, on the part of Henry, in the negotiation of this important concern.³ So little of public virtue remained in the country, that many of the Welsh nobility were desirous of an union with England, although the independency of their nation sunk in the scale. Some nobler spirits rejected the idea with disdain; not inclined

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 369.

² Welsh Chron. p. 297.

³ Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 567. Matth. Paris, p. 369.

to gratify their sovereign's inclination, or to indulge his infirmities, at the expence of the freedom of their country.'

THE archdeacon of St. Asaph, on the same concern, was employed to negotiate the interests of the prince of Wales. When he arrived at the English court, it appeared, that he was not possessed of instructions or power sufficient to bring to a conclusion so important a business. Upon this occasion, Henry dispatched letters to the lords of the marches, highly complaining of the homages which Llewelyn had caused his son David to receive; and commanding their attendance in Oxford, the truce with Wales being nearly expired. The king likewise sent a letter to the Welsh prince, expressive of resentment for his late conduct in regard to his son; and acquainting him, that if he was desirous of a lasting peace, he should send deputies to meet the council at Oxford; prohibiting him, moreover, under the penalty of forfeiture, from suffering his son to receive any more homage, until he had first performed that necessary duty to himself, as his sovereign. So highly alarmed was Henry upon this point, that he wrote to the young prince his nephew, not to presume to receive any more homage until he himself had paid that duty. The negotiation for peace extended no farther than to a continuation of the truce for another year, which was afterwards ratified by Llewelyn.'

A. D.
1238.

TAKING advantage of his father's infirmities, or rendered tyrannical by his favour, David seized on a great part of the

* Welsh Chron. p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 369. Matth. Westm. p. 110.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 379, 380.

territories belonging to Gryffydd his brother; leaving him only in possession of the cantrev of Lleyrn in the county of Caernarvon. This act of rapacity raised dissensions in the country; as Gryffydd possessed many qualities, which, among a people like the Welsh, were held in high estimation; being brave in war, tall and comely in his person, and, as the eldest son of Llewelyn, was heir apparent to the crown.¹

To allay the ferment which was produced by this division of interests, the bishop of Bangor proposed a conference between the two princes. In consequence of this mediation, Gryffydd began his journey, with the design of giving his brother the meeting; but though he travelled in the company of that prelate, and under the sanction of his character, he was arrested on the road by David; who confined him in the castle of Cricieth, a fortress situated on the verge of the sea in Caernarvonshire.²

THE treatment of this popular prince excited the greatest commotion. The adherents of his person and family rose up in arms; resenting the many injuries which had been done by David to his brother, whom they considered as the rightful heir to the crown; and whose spirit, manners and interests were congenial with those of his country. Another party of the Welsh espousing the cause of David, a civil war spread through the country; and in which, native ferocity mingling in the contest

A. D.
1240.
24th of
Henry III.

¹ British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

² Welsh Chron. p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 470.

and

and heightening its fury, North Wales, for some time, was deluged with the blood of her own citizens.'

IN this state of affairs, the evening of his days being imbittered by domestic and public calamity, died Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, after a reign of fifty-six years. He left two children by Tangwyth his first wife, Gryffydd, and a daughter called Glwadys, married to Sir Ralph Mortimer;¹ by his second wife Joan, the princess of England, he had David, who succeeded to his father's dominions.² The remains of this prince were interred, with much honour to his memory, in the Abbey of Conway.³

A. D.
1240.

IN taking a survey of the late period, so full of the vicissitudes of fortune, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth appears upon the stage a distinguished character. Possessed of many qualities which are requisite for a warrior, and to form the great prince; we may also discern him, through the glimmering of the times, displaying many of the softer traits of humanity; some of those finer springs which constitute in private life, whatever is just, tender, and amiable. But in the characters of men, the most eminent for their talents and their virtues, we shall still meet with shades of human infirmity. The defects of Llewelyn, striking as they were, may be considered as the vices of the age in which he lived, more justly than his own. A few acts of ferocity, with too fre-

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 118. Polidore Virgil, p. 305. Holinshed, p. 226. Matth. Paris, p. 479.

² Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 24, respecting Gryffydd.

³ Brit. Ant. Reviv'd by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd of Caerwys, Flintshire.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 298.

quent a violation of treaties, and, at times, a want of firmness in his conduct, may in some degree injure his fame and throw a shade upon his virtues, but cannot deprive him of that solid glory, which is due to a patriot prince; and which he obtained from a grateful people, for asserting the rights of his injured country, through a long life employed in its defence. His talents and his virtues, with the fortunate direction of both, have given to this prince the illustrious title of Llewelyn the *Great*.

SEVERAL causes conspired to promote the succession of David to the throne of North Wales, in preference to Gryffyd his eldest brother. The partiality of Llewelyn to this favourite son, had secured the allegiance of the Welsh nobility; the English king, too, as the uncle of David, would naturally support his cause, rather than that of his brother; a prince of a brave and active disposition, and popular in the country; but what gave the decisive turn in his favour was, that Gryffyd, the rival of his crown, was a prisoner at his mercy, closely confined in a solitary fortress.

A. D. 1240. WITHIN a month after his accession, David, attended by all the chieftains in Wales, waited on the king at Gloucester; where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the following

lowing conditions: That David should surrender his right to the independency of North Wales, as well as to such territories which had been claimed by several of Henry's vassals, excepting those of Montalto or Mould; and which he was at present to retain agreeably to what had been settled between him and the seneschal of Chester. In order to adjust all matters in dispute which in future might arise, arbitrators on both sides were to be appointed; over whom the Pope's legate, as long as he resided in England, was to preside; and who was likewise to have the power of punishing by ecclesiastical censures, any infraction of the peace. Before David, or any of his vassals, could be liable to such censures, they had a right to justify themselves before the legate, in any secure place upon the Borders; and to which place they were bound to appear whenever they were cited, or to be deemed contumacious if they neglected the summons, unless they shewed a sufficient reason for such a neglect. If the legatine function should cease, then the same power of coercion by ecclesiastical censure, should be vested in the archbishops of Canterbury successively. The peace was concluded upon these terms, and a general remission also took place of offences, which either party at any time had committed.*

Soon after this treaty, David received a summons to appear before the king in London, attended by the Welsh commissioners; in order to proceed before the legate in the business of arbitration.* The Welsh prince, in no haste to have the arbitration

* Rymer, p. 389, 390. Brady, vol. I. p. 575.

* Rymer, vol. I. p. 391.

proceed,

proceed, or to name the referees, slighted the summons. He soon after received another order from Henry, to appear himself at Shrewsbury, or to send his deputies.¹ To this summons he thought proper to pay obedience; and he sent commissioners accordingly to that place, where new arbitrators were appointed, and a certain time fixed, when their decision was to take place.²

A. D.
1241.

THE submission of David was only to gain time. He had conceived the design of shaking off his dependence on the crown of England. For he had lately formed an alliance with the brothers of Gryffydd ap Madoc, lord of the Lower Powys; having seduced those chieftains from their allegiance, as well as others of the Welsh tenants belonging to the English crown. The first act of his revolt, was to lay waste the territories of Sir Ralph Mortimer, and others of Henry's feudatories; he also retained in his own hands the estates of Hugh Vaughan and his nephews, contrary to the award of a late arbitration; and he likewise seized a vessel, on its voyage to Chester, loaded with wheat and other provisions. Henry, upon these outrages, sent to the prince of Wales a peremptory letter, enumerating the grievances above related, and enjoining him to persuade the revolted chieftains to return to their duty; and also that he should make restitution for all the injuries, which the king's subjects had received during the late infringement of the peace.³

INFLUENCED by motives of pity and affection, the bishop of Bangor interested himself in the safety of Gryffydd, whom his

¹ Brady, vol. I. p. 578, says Worcester.

² Rymer, p. 392. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

³ Rymer, p. 395.
brother

brother David still kept in confinement. He was also assisted in his generous design, by Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had married Glwadys the sister of the captive prince.¹ With much earnest solicitation they requested that he might be released out of prison; but all in vain; David did not dare to let loose among the people, a spirit like his brother's, popular and brave, and full of resentment for former injuries. The bishop of Bangor, on this refusal, excommunicated David, and withdrew into England. Repairing to the English king, he laid before him, the barbarity and injustice of his nephew's conduct; and earnestly implored that monarch to exert his authority, that this unfortunate prince might be restored to his liberty.² He likewise sent his complaints to Rome, and had interest sufficient with the Pope, to obtain a confirmation of the late sentence, and also to lay the dominions of the prince of Wales under an interdict.³

A. D.
1241.
25th of
Hen. III.

THE party was at this time increased which had been formed in favour of Gryffydd, who was become still more dear to the people; the injuries he had received, and his wretched situation, having rendered him an object of their pity. His wife Sina, a woman of spirit and address, confederate with the bishop of Bangor, and with many of the Welsh nobility, entered into a treaty with Henry, in hopes of interesting that prince in the cause of her unfortunate husband.⁴ The negotiation was sup-

¹ Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27. ² Matth. Paris, p. 506.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 300. Brady, vol. I. p. 578.

⁴ Matth. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

ported with such powerful persuasions, that Henry, inclining to their interest, sent an order to David to release his brother out of captivity. This order was attended by the following admonition; that by pursuing such a conduct, he would recover the honour of his character, and that it would be also the means of his receiving absolution from the Pope.¹ This mandate the Welsh prince peremptorily refused to obey, alledging in his excuse, that if Gryffydd was set at liberty, such was his spirit, and the strength of his party, that he would raise the greatest commotions throughout Wales.² The king, resenting his nephew's disobedience, commanded his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester, and from thence he proceeded with a large army to Shrewsbury.³ He had, also, been previously encouraged to this undertaking, under assurances of aid, by Gryffydd ap Madoc, the lord of the Lower Powys. During the king's residence at Shrewsbury, which was fifteen days, many Welsh and English lords, his vassals, gave him the meeting; all of them friendly to Gryffydd, and who came, in concert with his wife, to support the negotiation.⁴

WITH a tenderness and energy of spirit, which marked a fine and just sensibility, that lady stipulated with the king for the en-

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

² Welsh Chron. p. 300.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 506.

⁴ Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Mont Alto steward of Chester, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredydh ap Rotpert lord of Cydewen, Gryffydd ap Madoc lord of Bromfield, Howel and Meredydh the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd, and Gryffydd the son of Gwenwynwyn lord of the higher Powys. Welsh Chron. p. 301.

largement of her husband, on the following terms; that Gryffyd should pay to the king six hundred marks, on condition that he caused Gryffyd and Owen his son to be delivered out of prison; and that they should stand to the judgment of the king's court, whether by law they ought to have been imprisoned. That Gryffyd and his heirs should also stand to the judgment of the king's court, concerning that portion of the inheritance of Llewelyn his father, which of right appertained unto him: the said Sina undertaking for Gryffyd and his heirs, that they should pay yearly for that territory, the sum of three hundred marks; whereof the one third part should be paid in money, the second in cattle, and the third in horses, by the estimation of impartial men; and that the same should be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, by even portions, into the hands of the sheriff of the county of Salop. Sina farther undertook for Gryffyd and his heirs, that they should observe the peace with David, and suffer him quietly to enjoy such portions of his father's inheritance as to him should be found to be due. She also undertook for her husband and his heirs, that in case any Welshman should hereafter rebel against the king, they at their own charges, should compel the offender to make satisfaction.¹ For the performance of these conditions, she engaged to deliver up as pledges to the king, David and Roderic her sons; but with this restriction, that if either Gryffyd or Owen, should happen to die before his delivery out of prison, it should be lawful for Sina to have one of her sons released, the other remaining

¹ Brady, vol. I. p. 579. Matth. Paris, 559.

with the king as an hostage. She likewise swore upon the holy Evangelists, that Gryffydd and his heirs, should punctually perform all these premises; and she farther undertook, that Gryffydd on his delivery out of prison, should take the same oath. Sina, in the name of her husband, submitted herself, as to the observance of the premises, to the jurisdiction of the reverend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Litchfield; to the end that those bishops, or either of them, at the king's request, should compel Gryffydd and his heirs to observe these conditions, on pain of excommunication on their persons, and interdiction on their land; and lastly, that her husband should deliver this instrument in writing to the king in the form aforesaid. To this compact both parties set their seals; Gryffydd and Sina to that part which remained with the king, and the king to that part which remained with Sina. In ratification of this treaty, the lords before-mentioned, swore fealty to the king, and pledged themselves for the punctual performance of its several articles.¹

A DEEP cloud, at this period, hung over David, and menaced his safety. The king of England, advancing towards Chester, at the head of a large army, had entered the frontiers of his country;² many of the Welsh nobility were in confederacy

¹ Appendix, No. I. Matth. Paris, p. 551. Welsh Chron. p. 303. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

² The approaches into Wales, this summer, had been rendered very easy by a long drought; which, having continued four months, had dried up the marshes.

against

against him; in favour of his rival and the object of his cruelty; but the circumstance above all others most likely to excite his terror, was the censure of the church; which hanging over his head, like a sword suspended in the air, left him only a precarious possession of his throne.* David saw the storm as it gathered round him; and his resolution failing, he sent an offer to Henry to release his brother out of prison; provided that he himself might be taken into favour, under all the security which hostages, and other ties could give for his future fidelity.† Henry agreed to grant his nephew pardon and peace upon the terms he himself had offered, but to which he added the following conditions: That David should deliver up his brother Gryffyth and his son Owen to the king: That he should stand to the judgment of the king's court, whether Gryffyth ought to be imprisoned; and also for the portion of his father's inheritance, which he claimed according to the custom of Wales, and should hold that land of the king in capite: That he should deliver up to Roger de Mont Alto steward of Chester, his land in the lordship of Mould, with all its appurtenances: That he should restore to the barons all such land, lordships, and castles, which had been taken from them since the commencement of the wars, between king John and his father Llewelyn: That he should defray all the charges of Henry in the last expedition: That he should make satisfaction for all the injuries done by him, or his subjects, to the king or his people: That he should restore unto him all the homages which king John had received, or ought to have received, especially from the noblemen.

* Matth. Paris, p. 506.

† Ibid.

of Wales : That the lordships of Elefmere and Englefield should be conveyed to the king for ever : That he should not receive any of the king's subjects within the dominions of Wales, who were outlawed or banished : And lastly, under the obligation of giving hostages, and the penalty of forfeiture, that he should enter into the most solemn engagements, that he would never recede from Henry's service, that he would observe all his commands, and would stand to the law in his courts.¹

A. D.
1241.

As a pledge of his sincerity, that he really intended to preserve the peace according to this treaty, the Welsh prince consented that the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, and Coventry, should be arbitrators between him and the king ; and that he himself should be liable to their ecclesiastical censures, if, on his part, any of the articles were violated.²

A FEW months after the peace was concluded, David repaired to the English court ; and having performed homage to Henry, and given him the strongest assurances of his fidelity, even under the penalty of forfeiture if he should again revolt, he returned with a safe conduct into Wales.³ The Welsh nation, at this dishonourable period, was reduced to the lowest

¹ This treaty was signed on the part of David, by the bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, at Alnet on the river Elwy near St. Asaph. Welsh Chron. p. 306. Matth. Paris, p. 552. Brady, vol. I. p. 580. Rymer, p. 396, 397, 398.

² Welsh Chr. p. 306. Brady, p. 580. M. Paris, p. 552.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 307. Matth. Paris, p. 506.

ebb of their fortunes ; their independency gone, their prince the acknowledged vassal of England, and in appearance every spark of public virtue extinguished.

THOUGH the treaty had been ratified, David was not entirely divested of his fears. He sent privately to Henry, desiring, that being his nephew, he might continue to enjoy the principality of Wales in preference to Gryffydd, who was not related to the king. He likewise insinuated, that by setting his brother at liberty, he let loose a spirit that would raise divisions in the country, and administer causes for continual wars.¹ Coinciding but too well with the wishes and interested views of Henry, the reasons which were offered by the Welsh prince decided the fate of his brother. Having received him from the hands of David, the king sent the unfortunate Gryffydd, and the hostages lately given up, to London, in the custody of Sir John de Lexington, with orders that that prince, and his eldest son Owen, should be confined in the tower:² a conduct full of meanness and duplicity, and unworthy of a great monarch. The king likewise ordered a noble a day to be allowed him for his maintenance.³

A. D.
1242.

THOUGH deserted by the world, and in the power of his enemies, one friendly bosom was still alive to his interests. His faithful adherent the bishop of Bangor came again to the Eng-

¹ Welsh Chr. p. 307. M. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

² Matth. Paris, p. 506. Welsh Chron. p. 307.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 545. Holinshed, p. 228.

lish court, to intercede with the king for the enlargement of Gryffyth; but, humanity and justice not mingling in Henry's councils, he rejected every solicitation which was made in his favour. Languishing two years in confinement, and despairing of any other relief, this miserable prince, at length, attempted to make his escape; thinking any danger preferable to a situation so wretched, as that of being confined in a foreign prison, during his life, the victim of state policy. One night, having deceived his keepers, he got out of the window, and with a line which he had made by fastening together pieces of the tapestry of his chamber, the sheets belonging to his bed, and the napkins that covered his table, he attempted to let himself down from the tower, in which he was confined. But being very corpulent, after he had descended a little way, his weight broke the line, and he fell into the ditch with such violence, that his head and neck were nearly driven into his body; in which situation he was found in the morning.¹ His son Owen, and Sina his wife, who had shared in his tedious captivity, were the witnesses of this melancholy spectacle.² This disaster, instead of raising Henry's pity, was a reason with that prince for treating his son with greater rigour, by rendering his confinement more close.³ The reader will feel an emotion of sorrow at the fate of this gallant prince; who, in a foreign country, and impelled by the first law of nature, fell a victim to the designs of an ambitious brother, to the perfidious conduct of Henry, and his interested policy.

A. D.
1244.
1st of
March.
28th of
Henry III.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 545. Stowe's Chron. p. 186.

² Matth. Paris, p. 545.

³ Ibid.

To strengthen the maritime parts of Flintshire, the English king repaired the fortifications of the castle of Diferth. He likewise exercised the right he had lately acquired as the sovereign over Wales, by giving to Gryffyth the son of Gwenwynwyn, his inheritance in Powys; and to the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh, their territories in Meirionydh.¹

A NEW scene now opens to our view. The veil is drawn aside which had of late concealed from the Welsh princes the designs of the English monarch. They had vainly thought, though reduced to a state of vassalage, that they should be able to retain the appearance of royalty, and some semblance of their ancient grandeur. They did not reflect, that having lost the substance of power, its attendant shadow would soon disappear. That the Welsh might no longer be deluded by even the semblance of freedom, Henry, already in possession of the sovereignty, gave to his eldest son Edward the title of prince of Wales.² The death of Gryffyth, the real heir to the crown, though it could not justify the conduct, might give it a colourable pretext. At this intelligence David revolted from his allegiance, alive at last to a sense of shame for his own dishonour, and for the ignominious situation of his country.

A. D.
1244.

IN hopes of securing his subjects from the various and increasing oppressions of the English government, David solicited

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 308.

² Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 695. Polidore Virgil, p. 311. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29, 30. Welsh Chron. p. 309.

the Pope's protection ; offering to hold his dominions under him as a fief of the holy see,¹ and to pay likewise an annual tribute of five hundred marks ;² concluding, that if he and his people must be the vassals of a foreign prince, it was his wisest course to yield obedience to a power which was superior to all the sovereigns in Europe. The Pope, acceding to the proposal, and having received a large sum of money from the Welsh prince, vested the abbots of Cymmer and Conway, with full powers to sit as a court of inquiry ; whether David was under the influence of terror or of force, at the time he consented to do homage, and to be tied down to the late arbitrations. If an improper influence was found to have been the case, they were then to absolve him from the oaths and the other engagements which he had taken. In the fulness of spiritual importance, the Welsh abbots summoned king Henry to appear before them at Caerwys ;³ and in the church* of that town, to answer the complaints which David might alledge against him. This indignity was highly resented by the king, and all the barons of England.⁴ But the negociation with Rome did not in the event produce any useful effect. Henry, acquainted with the venality of that court, and that he might not be baffled by a prince so insignificant as David, made larger offers ; which, agreeably to the versatile and unprincipled conduct of Rome, turned the scale in favour of the English.⁵

A. D.
1245.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 552.

² Matth. Westmin. p. 139. Matth. Paris, p. 550, 573. Brady, p. 592.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 573. Brady, p. 592. Welsh Chron p. 309, says at Creythym.

⁴ *Gustefend.* ⁵ Matth. Paris, p. 573. J. Rossi, *Antiq. Warwicensis*, p. 162.

⁵ Welsh Chron. p. 309. Rymer, vol. I. p. 425, 430.

IN the mean time, under the protection of the Pope, and encouraged by so potent an alliance, David had made an incursion into the marches, and had ravaged the estates of the English lords. Henry was at this time in Scotland; but, during his absence, he had appointed the earl of Hereford, the earl of Clare, Thomas de Monmouth, Roger de Mont Alto, and others of the lords marchers, to make head against the Welsh, and to check their depredations.¹ Incursions continuing to be carried on with terrible devastations, the king, on his return into England, sent Herbert Fitz Mathew, with three hundred horse, to co-operate with the lords of the marches.² Before his arrival, the Welsh prince had routed the forces of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph de Mortimer; the former lord having in some measure been the cause of this insurrection, by detaining from David a certain district of land, which had been the property of his wife,³ and who was sister to that nobleman. These disasters alarmed king Henry, and created great indignation among the English. But his finances were so much exhausted, and his credit so low, that the parliament refused him the means of carrying on the war;⁴ thinking, it is probable, that the Welsh were neither much to be blamed, nor, if allowed to remain unmolested, were they much to be feared.

UNCHECKED by any national force, hostilities, which were carried on with various success, continued to desolate the Borders.

A. D.
1245.
29th of
Henry III.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 562. Polidore Virgil, p. 308, says, that in this enterprise David lost the greater part of his army, and that he repaired to Scotland, to incite the Scots prince to turn his arms against Henry.

² Matth. Paris, p. 569. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Brady, vol. I. p. 592. M. Paris, p. 572.

In the course of which, a party of the Welsh had been drawn into an ambuscade by the constable of Montgomery castle, and three hundred of them cut in pieces.¹ To revenge this loss, David fell with great fury on the estates of the English lords. This inroad was opposed by Herbert Fitz Mathew, at the head of the militia belonging to the marches. But that general, breathing the spirit of revenge, and unacquainted with the country, soon led the English army into a difficult situation; in which they were suddenly attacked by the Welsh, who were posted upon the heights adjacent, and from thence much annoyed their enemies by a shower of stones, arrows, and darts. In this rude encounter, Herbert Fitz Mathew was killed by a large stone rolled down from the mountains. The English, dispirited by the loss of their leader, retreated with precipitation out of the country. This success animated the Welsh to pursue their devastations with increased vigour and fury. But they soon after sustained the loss of two hundred men in another ambuscade near the castle of Montgomery. Incensed at this disaster, and taking advantage of the general consternation, the prince of Wales laid siege to the castle of Mold, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword; the governor, Roger de Mont Alto, having escaped the danger, he not being in the fortress at the time it was taken. These bloody events heightened the fierceness of the war, and it was henceforward carried on with a savage and unrelenting fury; neither of the parties sparing the age, nor sex, nor condition of their enemies.²

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 575.² Ibid. p. 576.

DAVID was now summoned to appear, with all the barons of Wales, in the king's court at Westminster, to do homage, and to answer for the depredations which they had lately committed. About twenty of the Welsh nobility made their appearance. Instead of obeying the summons, the prince of Wales appears to have amused the English court by a treaty; which having miscarried, the most formidable preparations were made by Henry for the entire conquest of the country.¹

THE revolt now wore a most serious aspect. The English parliament therefore, not only gave the necessary supplies, but thought proper that the king should in person go into Wales; to give an early check to David's career, and to punish the rebellion of an insolent vassal. It was on this occasion, that an extraordinary assessment of forty shillings took place for every knights fee, called the scutage of Gannock.² Summonses were sent to all the barons and others who held of the king by knights service and serjeantry to be ready to march into Wales, or to send thither their services.³ Orders were likewise sent to Henry's justiciary in Ireland, that a diversion should be made from thence on the island of Anglesey;⁴ and for that purpose he was to provide the choicest of his soldiers; he was also to furnish the necessary provisions for the army which was to be employed in the Welsh expedition.⁵

A. D.
June
1245.

¹ Rymer, p. 427—431.

² Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 82, from Rotul. Pip. 30 Hen. III. Oxon.

³ Rymer, p. 433. Brady, vol. I. p. 591. Matth. Paris, p. 580.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 310.

⁵ Rymer, p. 431.

A. D.
1245.

It was about the middle of August that Henry entered the confines of Wales. By that time, the Irish had made a descent upon Anglesey, and had dreadfully ravaged that island;¹ but not being properly supported by the English king, who had been too slow in his movements, they were assailed by the inhabitants, when loaded with plunder, and were driven back to their ships.²

THE English army was too powerful for David to resist in the open field; he therefore retired to the mountains of Snowdun, leaving Henry's march open and unmolested, until he had advanced to the arm of the sea, which is opposite to Conway. Not daring to pass that river, and enter into the mountainous recesses of the country, the enemy unseen and in flying parties hovering around him, Henry halted his troops; though determined that the expedition should not be rendered entirely fruitless. On the point of a promontory which projects into the sea, were the ruins of an ancient fortification; once a Roman station, and which had been afterwards a fortress belonging to the Welsh, called Diganwy, and an occasional residence of their earlier princes. Thinking this a proper situation, the king began to rebuild this castle; the garrison of which might be able to intercept the enemies parties whenever they made incursions into England.³ But the Welsh did not remain unconcerned spectators of a transaction of so hostile a nature; and which, if suffered to be completed, would prove the deadly dart,⁴ which would remain and fester in the bosom of their country.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 599.

² Welsh Chron. p. 310.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 597. Henry de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, p. 2443. Welsh

311.

⁴ Matth. Paris says, *Spina in oculo*.

DURING the ten weeks which Henry had employed in erecting this fortress, his army, which lay encamped in the open field, was exposed to many inconveniencies. The weather growing exceedingly cold towards the close of the summer, the soldiers suffered much by being thinly clad, and by having no other covering than tents made of linen; the troops, likewise, were, at times, reduced to great distress by a scarcity of provisions,¹ receiving only a precarious supply from Chester and Ireland; they were also much harassed, and their numbers reduced, by the incessant attempts which the Welsh made in the night, to cut off their straggling parties, and to storm their camp.²

IN this perilous state, a vessel loaded with provisions, arrived out of Ireland, and had been suffered to run aground on the shore adjoining to Snowdun, at the ebb of the tide, by the negligence of the mariners. The Welsh did not neglect this fortunate occurrence, but ran to take possession of the prize, by this time laid dry on the strand. In attempting which, they received a check from Sir Walter Bisset; who, with great spirit and conduct, defended the vessel, until a reinforcement of Welsh-

¹ The bread which was usually sold for one farthing now sold for five-pence, a hen for eight-pence; and the English had in their camp only one cask of wine, one ox, and one quarter of corn, worth twenty shillings.—Matth. Paris, p. 598.—But, perhaps, a reservation was made for a due supply of provisions for the castle of Gannock; which, it appears, was completely furnished with every necessary, on the king's departure.

² In one of these conflicts, the English having the advantage, they brought in triumph to their camp, the heads of nearly one hundred Welshmen. See Matth. Paris, p. 598.

men, who were Henry's vassals in the marches, had crossed the river, and had come to his relief. Having driven off the assailants, the English party pursued them with great slaughter, six miles, up into the country; and, on their return, flushed with success, pillaged of its books and silver cups, the abbey of Conway; a religious house of the Cistercian Order. They then set fire to all the offices. With a rage that bordered upon frenzy, the Welsh ran down from the mountains to preserve that venerable pile, the object of their piety, and which had lately become the *mausoleum* of their princes. Finding the English overloaded with spoils, they slew great numbers, and wounded others; many also were taken prisoners; and the remainder, to avoid the fury of the Welsh, plunged into the Conway, and perished in the water. Besides those who were drowned, several gentlemen of rank, and about one hundred common persons, fell by the sword. In this day's action, the same number were slain on the side of the Welsh. The soldiers who were taken alive, were at first only lodged in confinement; but the Welsh, being informed that their enemies had lately put to death some lords of their nation, ordered all the prisoners to be hanged; then, cutting off their heads, and, with a barbarous rage, tearing their dead bodies in pieces, they threw their mutilated limbs into the Conway water.* Some colour of justice, indeed, was given to this act of ferocity; many of the prisoners being Welshmen, who, under the command of the lords of Powys, had joined the enemies of their country.

* Matth. Paris, p. 597, 598, 599. This account is given by an English lord serving at that time in Henry's army.

THE vessel before-mentioned, which was still aground, was again violently assaulted, and as bravely defended, until midnight, by Sir Walter Bisset; when, on the flowing of the tide, and the ship being afloat, the Welsh were obliged to retire. During the night, the party, commanded by Sir Walter, was released from their post, and leaving the ship, escaped to the English camp. In the morning, it being then low water, the Welsh returned to the vessel, to make further depredations on their prize; and finding her deserted, carried away almost all the wine, and the remainder of the cargoe. Having so far secured this valuable prize, a part of which consisted of fifty-three tons of wine, they set fire to the ship, and made good their retreat. Seven tons only were saved by the English, who drew them out of a part of the vessel which had not been consumed by the fire.¹

HAVING, at length, finished the important fortrefs of Diganwy,² in the face of the Welsh, and against all the efforts they had used to prevent it; Henry left in that castle a numerous garrison, well furnished with victuals and all military implements; and being unable to continue any longer in this situation, his provisions being exhausted, and the winter being near, he returned at the end of October, with the remainder of his army, into England.³

A. D.
1245.

¹ During these transactions, David the prince of Wales, being sick and oppressed with cares, frequently retired to his camp at *Tintaiol*, to refresh himself, and recover from the fatigues of war. Matth. Paris, p. 599.

² Called Gannock by the English.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 599.

MANY causes conspired to render deplorable the situation of the Welsh. No party of theirs could move towards the Cheshire frontier, but they were liable to be cut off by the garrison of the new fortified castle of Diganwy. Anglesey, the granary of Wales, had been so entirely laid waste by the Irish, that no advantage could be derived from thence; nor could they be supplied with provisions from other parts, as orders had been given by the English king in the marches and in Ireland, that, on pain of death, no merchandize whatever, or victuals¹ should be carried into Wales.² He had likewise ordered all the salt³ works to be destroyed in the country.⁴ What heightened still more the public distress, the territories of the Welsh prince were reduced within the limits of Meirionyth, and the present county of Caernarvon, and to the barren parts of the adjoining country; and, it is probable, too, that besides the usual inhabitants, those mountains were at this time crowded with people, who had fled out of the valleys for protection.⁵ In such a situation, the Welsh had no alternative but famine, or submission to Henry's authority.

In this season of common calamity, the rage of contending parties was suspended; and all the chieftains of Wales, retain-

¹ By this prohibition of the English king, such was the scarcity of provisions, that a famine had nearly taken place in Chester, and in the adjacent country. Matth. Paris.

² Rymer, vol. I. p. 440. Matth. Paris, p. 599.

³ *Puteos Salinarum de Witz.* Matth. Paris.

⁴ Matth. Paris, p. 599.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 600.

ing no longer their animosities, and uniting in a generous confederacy, gave to their sovereign the most solemn assurances of perpetual allegiance.* But their offers of aid, or their vows of fidelity, had no power of affording relief to David; the miseries of his country, and the prospect which was opening before him, had broken his spirit; and, a few months after, sinking under the weight of sorrow, lamented by his subjects, and rising in their esteem, he died† at Aber, a palace in which he usually resided, upon the sea coast in Caernarvonshire. This prince left no issue, and was buried in the abbey of Conway.‡

A. D.
1246.
30th of
Henry III.

WE have now seen the Welsh nation subject to the most distant extremes of fortune. Their annals, in rapid succession, are marked with striking vicissitudes. Influenced by sudden, and often by hidden springs, we have seen them, by uniting their strength, and exerting its force, rising up to the height of prosperity; and then, from causes which were equally capricious, falling, in a moment, into disunion and vassalage.

* Wynn's Hist. Wales, p. 268. † Matth. Paris, p. 608, 610.

‡ Wynn's Hist. Wales, p. 268.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OWEN AND LLEWELYN THE
SONS OF GRYFFYD AP LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH, TO
THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN AP GRYFFYD.

ON the death of the late prince, the Welsh nobility elected Owen and Llewelyn joint sovereigns of North Wales. These young princes were the sons of Gryffyd ap Llewelyn, who some years before had been killed by attempting to escape out of the tower of London.¹ A. D. 1246.

OWEN had shared in the captivity of his father, but was afterwards taken into Henry's favour, and appears to have been highly cared for in the English court. Receiving intelligence of the late events, he suddenly withdrew out of England, and fortunately effected his escape into Wales.² The young prince

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 314.

² Matth. Paris, p. 608.

Llewelyn, before his accession to the throne, had resided at Maesmynan near Caerwys in Flintshire; and possessed, as the patrimony which he had received from his father, the cantrevs of Englefield, Dyffryn-Clwyd, Rhos, and Rhyvonioc; all of which he had held, during the late reign, in opposition to his uncle David, and the English monarch.¹

OPPRESSED by the hated laws of England, the Welsh, at this period, had neither opportunity nor spirit, to carry on commerce, nor to cultivate their land, and in consequence were perishing by famine: they were likewise deprived of the usual pasturage for their cattle: and, to recite the words of an old writer, expressive of their bondage, “ the harp of the churchmen is “ changed into sorrow and lamentations: the glory of their “ proud and ancient nobility is faded away.”²

IN this state of their country, the Welsh princes thought it prudent, upon their accession, to conclude a peace with the English king, on the following severe conditions; of yielding up for ever the cantrevs of Rhos, Rhyvonioc, Dyffryn-Clwyd, and Englefield, being all the country from the frontier of Cheshire to the water of Conway.³ They were likewise obliged

¹ Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 28.

² The bishop of St. David, is said, at this time, to have died of grief, and the bishop of Llandaff to have been stricken blind: the bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, likewise, on their bishopricks being entirely ruined, were under the necessity of supplicating alms, as a means of subsistence. Vide Matth. Paris, p. 642.

³ *Cynwy* or *Chief Water*.

to serve in Wales, or in the marches, with one thousand foot and twenty-four horse, armed and well appointed at their own expence, whenever they were called upon ; but with five hundred infantry only, when the service should require that duty to be performed in any other place : The homage and services of all the barons in Wales were to remain with the kings of England for ever : If there should be any infringement of the peace on the part of the Welsh princes, an entire forfeiture of their territories was to be the consequence. For these concessions, after the two princes had performed their homage, Henry granted them a full pardon, and the enjoyment of the residue of North Wales, to be held under the crown of England for ever.¹

A. D.
1247.
31st of
Henry III.

THE country from Chester to the river Conway, which had been given by Henry as an appennage to his son prince Edward, was, at this time, let out to farm to Alan de Zouch, an English baron, for eleven hundred marks.² He superseded John de Grey, who was to have held it for the lesser sum of five hundred.³ The Welsh, likewise, early tasted another bitter fruit of their subjection ; a talliage having been laid upon all that territory which had been lately ceded in Wales, to defray the expence of Henry's intended expedition into the Holy Land.⁴

A. D.
1251.
35th of
Henry III.

¹ Rymer, p. 443. About this time, the abbots of Strata-Florida and Conway procured from the English king the body of the late Gryffyd ap Llewelyn, which they safely conveyed to the abbey of Conway, where the remains of that prince were honourably interred. Welsh Chr. p. 319.

² Brady, vol. I. p. 605.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 705.

⁴ Carte's Hist. Eng. Inter. Communia. Trin. Term. 36 Hen. III.

FOR some years the Welsh nation, dispirited and inactive, had lost with their freedom every trace of their national character; until the demon of discord, reviving their spirit and genius, roused it once again into action.

A. D. 1254. OWEN, the eldest of the reigning Welsh princes, not enduring a partner in the throne, drew in David his younger brother, to engage with him in hostilities against Llewelyn. The two brothers, in pursuance of their ambitious designs, took the field with a considerable force; and fighting with Llewelyn, their army was routed, after a long and bloody engagement, and they themselves taken prisoners, and secured in confinement; leaving to that prince the sole possession of what remained of this mutilated kingdom.*

THE eyes of the Welsh nobility were at length opened; a series of injuries had awakened them into a sense of their lost condition. Actuated by one common spirit, the chieftains of Wales resorted to Llewelyn; and complained of the grievances which they had long endured from prince Edward, and from the lords of the marches; that their estates had been taken from them by force, without any colour of justice; and that they were also treated with severity, whenever they committed the smallest offence; but that they themselves could obtain no redress, for any injury which was done them by the English.* In the most solemn manner, and with an afflicted though manly

* Welsh Chron. p. 319. Annales Burton, p. 386.

* Welsh Chron. p. 320.

spirit,

spirit, they declared ; that they would rather die in the field in defence of their natural rights, than be subject any longer to so cruel and oppressive an enemy. Necessity, virtue, and despair, influenced Llewelyn to second their ardour. They all determined to rescue their country from its vile dependence upon England, or bravely to perish amidst the ruins of its freedom.¹ A. D.
1255.

WHEN men meet to deliberate, and form a resolution to revolt, a decisive conduct should then take place of feeble and temporising measures. The conduct of Llewelyn, on this important occasion, was equally rapid and decisive. He recovered Meirionyd, and the inland country of North Wales which had been lately ceded to Henry ; and also such territories in Caerdigan, as were in the possession of prince Edward ; and the district also of Gwrthrynon, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.²

THE summer following he made an incursion into Powys, and subdued a great part of the territory which belonged to Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn ; to revenge the baseness of his conduct in taking part with the English king.³ With a spirit, which marked a liberal and penetrating mind, the prince of Wales divided among the chiefs, his associates in the war, the estates he had conquered.⁴ It was certainly a right conduct in Llewelyn, having put his life and his crown to the hazard, to secure the attachment of interested chieftains, by such an act of princely munificence. A. D.
1256.
40th of
Hen. III.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 806.

² Welsh Chron. p. 320.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 806.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 320.

ALARMED at a revolt, directed by a common spirit of union, Henry sent a large army by sea to Caermarthen, to the assistance of his vassals in South Wales; which, having laid siege to the castle of Dinevawr, was defeated by the forces of Llewelyn, with the loss of two thousand men. After this victory, the Welsh army laid waste the country of Pembroke, destroying in its march the castles of Abercorran, Llanstephan, Maenclochoc, and Arberth; and then returned, with the spoils which had been taken from the enemy, into North Wales.¹

A. D.
1256.

It is not to be supposed, that Edward, a prince of the age of seventeen, full of fire and ambition, would see without emotion the progress of Llewelyn, and the many valuable territories, which that prince, his rival in glory, had lately torn from him. His father being unwilling, or what is more probable, unable to assist him with money, the young prince applied to his uncle the earl of Cornwall; who lent him four thousand marks to carry on the war. But the heavy rains which fell during the winter, raised the rivers so much, as to overflow the marshes; whence the progress which he made against the enemy was very inconsiderable, and bore no proportion to his spirit, or his thirst after fame.²

A. D.
1256.

THE Welsh, exposed to the rapacity of a Farmer General, and their country often sold to the best bidder, experienced another severe cause of complaint. Sir Geoffrey de Langley³ had been ap-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 320, 321.

² Matth. Paris, p. 805.

³ Brady, p. 721, 810. It is probable that he succeeded Alan de Zouch, who had brought into England much treasure in carts out of Wales.

pointed to superintend that district which lies between Chester and the water of Conway, and to collect, in behalf of prince Edward, his revenue; the payment of which had been lately imposed upon the inhabitants of that country.¹ The rigour with which he exacted this talliage, had excited among the Welsh the highest disgust. Against every principle of true policy and justice, Edward also attempted to introduce, on a sudden, the English laws into this part of Wales;² and in order to give them proper force and effect, he endeavoured to establish courts of justice in every hundred, and in every county.³ The design spread a general alarm. Horror, and the keenest indignation were excited, when the Welsh saw an odious and foreign jurisdiction rising into a system on the ruins of their native laws; objects which they loved with a tender affection, and revered with a pious enthusiasm; as the types of their ancient glory, and as almost the only vestige which remained of the British empire. Private injury and partial oppression had hitherto met with partial resentment. But there is a degree of oppression, which will urge into resistance even men who are cowards by nature, and who are lost to every sentiment of virtue. What efforts then might not be expected from the Welsh; a people, brave and irascible, and who were bred upon their mountains the indigenous children of freedom?

SUCH was their sense of injuries and irritated spirit, that the Welsh joined Llewelyn in such numbers, that he soon raised a

A. D.
1256.
40th of
Henry III.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 805. Brady, p. 620.

² Brady, p. 605.

³ Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 110, from Chron. Dunstable, p. 321.

very formidable force, equipped in all points, and armed agreeably to the custom of the country. For the greater ease of procuring provisions, he divided it into two bodies, each of which consisted of thirty thousand men; attended likewise by a squadron of five hundred horse, elegantly appointed and entirely covered with armour. With this formidable force, the Welsh prince laid waste the frontier, on each side of the river Dee to the gates of Chester.¹ The prince of England, unable to resist the violence of such a multitude, and which by its own weight had borne down all opposition, retreated to his uncle the king of the Romans: by whose assistance, having augmented his forces, he returned into Wales; but was still too weak to encounter, or even to give any check to the progress of the Welsh army; although Edward had been lately joined by Gryffyd ap Madoc, the lord of the Lower Powys.²

THE natives of South Wales, animated with the same generous spirit, had joined in the common cause.³ In support of this union, Llewelyn made an inroad into that country, and making himself master of two castles, and of several districts belonging to the enemy, he returned towards North Wales; but was intercepted in the course of his march by the prince of England. In attempting to oppose the progress of the prince of Wales, Edward received a considerable check in the Marches, and was obliged to retire before the Welsh army.⁴ Pursuing his route,

A. D.
1257.
41st of
Hen. III.

¹ Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 50. Matth. Paris, p. 805, 806, 810.

² This chieftain resided in the castle of Dinas-Bran, near Llangollen in Denbighshire. Welsh Chron. p. 321.

³ Holinhead, p. 255.

⁴ Matth. Paris, p. 810. Welsh Chron. p. 321, 328.

Llew-

Llewelyn then laid waste the territories of Gryffyd ap Madoc, in resentment of his late conduct.¹

THE vanity of Edward was wounded by the disgrace which his fame as a soldier had lately sustained; an affront which he never forgave; and if his spirit and ambition prompted him to the conquest of the country, he was equally spurred on by pride and resentment against Llewelyn, his rival in arms and his competitor for glory. In the situation of the two princes, it was not likely that the dispute would be of long continuance, it must soon cease by the ruin or by the death of one of the competitors.

THE king of the Romans, desirous of mediating between the two hostile powers, sent a letter to the prince of Wales; mildly requesting, that he would desist from making any farther depredations. But Llewelyn, taking advantage of the rainy season, and knowing that the marshes were inaccessible,² instead of retiring from the field, laid siege to the castle of Diganwy; on the possession of which he must know, that the fate of his country would in a great measure depend.³ Alarmed for the safety of this important fortress, Henry, who had been hitherto an unconcerned spectator, resolved to go into Wales; and in person to conduct a war, which had proved so unprosperous under the conduct of his son. He dispatched orders to his vassals in Ireland, to make a descent upon the island of Anglesey; that by despoiling that country, he might dry up the source from whence the

A. D.
1257.
41st of
Hen. III.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 806.

² Ibid p. 810.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 321.

Welsh had usually received a great part of their sustenance. He summoned all his military tenants in the north, and in the middle of England, to meet him on the eleventh of August at Chester; he likewise appointed those of the west to assemble at Bristol, with orders to invade South Wales, under the command of the earl of Gloucester. He was in hopes, that by entering the country in several places, and in different divisions, he might distract the attention of the enemy, and divide their force.¹

ON the advance of the English, Llewelyn raised the siege, and retired across the river to Snowdun; having first taken the precaution to break down the bridges, to obstruct the roads, to plow up the meadows, to render the fords impassable, and to remove the women, children, and cattle, with all the provisions, out of the adjacent country.² Henry did not dare to penetrate that formidable barrier; though he was enabled to remain in his post until Michaelmas, by means of a fleet belonging to the Cinque Ports, which supplied his army with provisions. His measures had been wisely planned, and this campaign might have given the fatal blow to the independency of Wales, if Henry's orders had been obeyed with fidelity. The English army in South Wales, instead of making a diversion in his favour, had remained inactive; not without suspicion of treason falling on the earl of Gloucester the general.³ Llewelyn no sooner heard of the intention of the Irish of making a descent upon Anglesey, than he dispatched some vessels to intercept them; by which

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 322. Matth. Paris, p. 817. Rymer, p. 636.

² Matth. Paris, p. 817.

³ Chron. Dunstaple, p. 325, 326.

their fleet was defeated, and forced back into Ireland.¹ The winter coming on, and having suffered much by a furious attack which the Welsh had made from the mountains, Henry once again relinquished the field to Llewelyn; and, instead of punishing a revolting vassal, he himself, with the broken remains of his army, was obliged to make a precipitate and inglorious retreat to Chester.²

A. D.
1257.

SUCH was the despair, which the late disgraceful campaign had impressed upon the mind of prince Edward, that he was fully determined to relinquish his territories in Wales; and also to renounce his new subjects the Welsh; as a people, who were neither to be subdued, nor, by any means in his power, reduced to submission.³

IF disgrace and discomfiture attended Henry's retreat into England, Llewelyn had likewise his share of disappointment. He had been flattered with the expectation of receiving support out of Scotland; a party in that kingdom having engaged by treaty, that as soon as the Welsh were in the field, they would make a diversion in their favour, by invading the northern borders of England.⁴ This design being defeated, by a sudden and decisive measure of the English king,⁵ the prince of Wales found himself left, unsupported by any confederate, to sustain the unequal pressure of the war.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 815. Welsh Chron. p. 322.

² Polidore Virgil, p. 313. Matth. Paris, p. 819.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 817.

⁴ Brady, vol. I. p. 623.

⁵ Ibid.

SENSIBLE of his danger, and reflecting on the miserable state of his dominions, as well as on the injury which had arisen to his subjects, from their having been of late deprived of commerce, Llewelyn was induced, as the father of his people, to put an end to their calamities by a peace with England; which should be grounded upon reasonable concessions. With the consent of his chieftains, he made proposals, that if a peace was concluded, and if the Welsh were restored to their ancient laws, to give a sum of money to king Henry, and to acknowledge his sovereignty; but utterly rejected the idea of allegiance, as a duty which he owed to prince Edward. The English king did not accede to the proposal.¹ It was not likely that the young prince, affairs having taken a more favourable turn, would be inclined to relinquish such valuable territories, and the royal dignity with which he had been lately invested. The peculiar reluctance which the Welsh expressed to the sovereignty of Edward, amidst other motives of conquest, may account for the cruel and vindictive spirit, with which, in the subsequent periods of his life, he pursued this unfortunate nation.

A. D.
1257.

ON this refusal, hostilities continued through the winter.

HAVING summoned to his aid all the chieftains in South Wales, who were his military vassals, Llewelyn came into the marches and took possession of Powys. He banished out of that country Gryffyd ap Gwenwynwyn, one of its chieftains; and received the submission of the other, Gryffyd ap Madoc the

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 819. Brady, p. 622.

lord of Dinas-Bran; who perceiving the fortunes of England sinking in the scale, thought it prudent to return to the duty which he had long deserted, and to court the protection of his natural sovereign.¹ Llewelyn then fell with great fury upon the estates of the earl of Gloucester, gained several castles belonging to that nobleman; and overthrew, with considerable loss, a party of English who ventured to oppose him.²

To crush this revolt, now raised to a formidable head, Henry once again came in person against Llewelyn; but as if disgrace and misfortune attended his banners, having only penetrated a little beyond Chester, he was obliged to retire with loss into England; obtaining no other fruits in this inglorious expedition, than the satisfaction of destroying the corn as he marched through the country.³

EARLY in the spring a confederacy had been formed by all the nobility in Wales; who, having sworn fealty⁴ to Llewelyn, renewed their engagements, under the most solemn ties, to vindicate at every peril their injured liberties and laws. By this union, princes may be taught the danger, of tearing up by the roots those habits which are grown venerable by time, and which by long usage are become dear to a people.⁵

A. D.
1257.

THE late events had given a fortunate turn to affairs. The present prosperity of the Welsh, the spoils they had taken from

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 322. Matth. Paris, p. 818.

² Ibid.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 819, 820. ⁴ Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

⁵ Matth. Paris, p. 818. Welsh Chron. p. 323.

the enemy, the general confederacy which had been lately renewed, and the return of Gryffyd ap Madoc to his allegiance, had diffused through every bosom the hopes of better days. To raise these hopes into pious confidence, Llewelyn addressed his followers in this consolatory and animating language. "Thus far," said he, "the Lord God of hosts hath helped us; for it must appear to all that the advantages we have obtained are not to be ascribed to our own strength, but to the favour of God, who can as easily save by *few* as by *many*. How should we a poor, weak, and unwarlike people compared with the English, dare to contend with so mighty a power, if God did not patronise our cause? His eye hath seen our affliction, not only those injuries we have suffered from Geoffry de Langley, but those also which we have received from other cruel instruments of Henry and of Edward. From this moment our *all* is at stake. If we fall into the hands of the enemy, we are to expect no mercy. Let us then stand firm by each other. It is our union alone which can render us invincible. You see in what manner the king of England treats his own subjects, how he seizes their estates, impoverishes their families, and alienates their minds. Will he then spare *us*, after all the provocations we have given him, and the farther acts of hostility and revenge which we meditate against him? No, it is evidently his intention to blot out our name from under the face of heaven. Is it not better then at once to die, and go to God, than to live for a time at the capricious will of another, and at last to suffer some ignominious death assigned us by an insulting enemy?"

Animated

Animated by this oration, the Welsh infested the English Borders with incessant inroads; in the course of their ravages, by fire, by the sword, and by plunder, they rendered the frontier a scene of desolation.*

IN the course of these hostilities, the confederates made an inroad into Pembroke, and laid waste that country; they likewise had the good fortune to meet with salt, a convenience they had much wanted ever since their brine works had been destroyed by king Henry.†

THOUGH prosperity had of late attended the arms of Llewelyn, and a generous spirit had arisen among the chieftains in Wales, yet such was the miserable state of his country, that the Welsh prince was still inclined to renew his proposals for peace. The English king acceded to the terms which were offered by Llewelyn, and agreed to a truce for one year.‡ His own situation rendered a peace equally necessary to him. He, at this time, was deeply entangled in disputes with his barons: the country, too, along the marches of England, had been ruined by the ravages of war: the whole confine was become a desert, without buildings, cattle, or inhabitants.§

A. D.
1258.
42d of
Henry III.

It may raise our surprise, that a prince like Llewelyn, possessing vigour of mind and decision in conduct, at a time when England was weak and internally convulsed, did not take ad-

* Matth. Paris, p. 819. † Welsh Chron. p. 323. ‡ Rymer, vol. I. p. 658.

§ Matth. Paris, p. 822. Holinshed, p. 257.

vantage of this fortunate juncture, and of the rising spirit of his country, to fix upon a permanent basis, by wise measures and decisive operations, its newly recovered independence. The spirit of a people, however ardent at first, and rising from the spur of oppression, will insensibly die away, if not kept alive by a course of activity and enterprise; and he might have known, that in this perilous crisis, the decline of that generous spirit, like the extinction of the *Vestal fire*, would be the omen of his country's ruin.

THE ties of union thus loosened, and the hurry of action no longer engaging an eager or capricious spirit, Meredydh ap Rhys, an eminent chieftain in South Wales,* not regarding the oath he had lately taken, revolted from the Welsh confederacy, and espoused the interests of the English king.

IN order to confirm or enlarge the late truce, or to conclude a peace upon a lasting basis, prince Edward sent Patrick de Canton, attended by the late revolted chieftain, into Wales; to confer on that business, with the Welsh commissioners, at Emlyn, in the present county of Caermarthen. David, the brother of the prince of Wales, who had been lately released out of prison, appeared at the head of the deputies in behalf of Llewelyn. The English commissioner, having understood that his own followers were superior in number to the Welsh, could

* This chieftain was the son of Rhya ap Rhys, and was the grandson of Rhys ap Gryffyd, the last prince of South Wales.

† Welsh Chron. p. 323.

not refrain, on this opportunity, from indulging the innate detestation in which he held that nation. To gratify this spirit, he stationed his party in a convenient situation upon the road; and, suddenly assailing Llewelyn's commissioners, put many of them to the sword; the chiefs only escaping the perfidy of the English by a precipitate flight. Fired with resentment, David, with the chieftains who attended him, having raised the power of the country, severely revenged this perfidious conduct, by cutting in pieces Patrick and a great number of his followers.¹ This transaction strongly marks in the English an inveteracy of spirit; and marks also the feeble hold which the claims of the Welsh had upon the justice of Henry; when we see that prince, instead of vindicating the honour of his crown, by punishing so flagrant a violation of national faith, affecting to shew resentment against Llewelyn, for an act of retaliation so natural and just.

SUCH, however, was the desire of the Welsh prince for peace, or such the situation of his affairs, that he once again renewed his proposals to Henry for a truce; and more effectually to conciliate his favour, he offered to give that king four thousand marks, three hundred to his son Edward, and two hundred to the queen.² The late affair, with a sense of former losses, had so exasperated Henry, that he at first refused to enter into any terms of accommodation.³ At length a truce was settled for

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 324. Matth. Paris, p. 838. ² Matth. Paris, p. 841.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 841.

A. D. 1259.
43^d of Henry III. a year, and ratified by the commissioners of the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery.¹

THE spirit of patriotism which had so lately animated every bosom, and had afforded a ray of hope that the sufferings of this injured people would at length find a period, appears, at this time, to be nearly extinguished. The bishop of Bangor, at the desire of the Welsh nobility, was sent by the prince of Wales to solicit peace from king Henry; and to offer that monarch sixteen thousand pounds weight of silver, provided that his subjects might enjoy their ancient customs and laws, and might have all their disputes heard, and legally determined at Chester.² In this negotiation, nothing farther was concluded,

A. D. 1260. than the continuation of the truce for one year, which was ratified by the commissioners of the two princes at Oxford.³

SIR Roger Mortimer, governor of the castle of Buellt, which he held under prince Edward, attended, in pursuance of a summons, his duty in the English parliament. Under the alledged reason, that contrary to his oath that nobleman had supported the English cause, Llewelyn surprised in the night his fortress, in breach of the truce then subsisting; and continuing his route into South Wales, committed in that country great depredations.⁴ Insinuations on this account having been thrown out against the conduct of Sir Roger Mortimer, who was a near relation

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 324. Rymer, p. 684.

² Matth. Westm. p. 148. Welsh Chron. p. 325. Holinshead, p. 261.

³ Rymer, p. 708. ⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 325. Rymer, p. 705.

to Llewelyn; it was thought necessary that an inquiry should be made into that affair. Accordingly he was called before the English council, where he was fully acquitted; though very much to the dissatisfaction of prince Edward, who formally entered his protest against the decision of that assembly.*

To check this rising spirit of revolt, and to chastise the Welsh for the late infraction of the peace, summonses were sent to the earls of Hereford and Gloucester, to assemble with their followers on a certain day at Shrewsbury. The like notices were also sent to all the tenants who held of the king in capite; in the several counties of York, Lancaster, Rutland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Warwick; to form a junction at Chester, and from thence to assist in carrying on the war. The thunders of the church were likewise pointed at the head of Llewelyn. That prince was excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, in default of immediate restitution and reparation of damages.† This formidable army was commanded by Simon de Montford earl of Leicester. That general, finding the summer too far advanced to pursue his operations, or, what is more probable, influenced by a secret inclination to the enemy's cause, advised the court of England to grant a peace to Llewelyn; he likewise did not prevent the Welsh prince at the same time from committing depredations in South Wales.‡

* Rymer, p. 706, 707, 708.

† Rymer, p. 708.

‡ Rymer, vol. I. p. 709, 710, 711. Guthrie's English Hist. p. 789.

It is asserted, that Llewelyn dispersed the rising storm, by disavowing the fact which gave occasion to the war, and by employing the bishop of Bangor to solicit a renewal of the truce.¹ It is certain, however, that a truce was settled for one year longer between the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery. In this treaty, the conditions of peace concluded at Oxford were ratified: That each party should keep possession of their estates, vassals, and castles: That the fords should not be stopped, nor any other communication, nor the woods be cut down; and that the castles of Diganwy and Diferth, then in the possession of the English, should be supplied with provisions as occasion might require.² It is worthy of remark, that two sets of commissions were issued, to the same effect, and in the same words; except that in the one, the name of prince Edward was joined to that of his father; but in the other commission his name was omitted. This was probably owing to an idea, that as the Welsh had conceived much jealousy of, and dislike to the young prince, the insertion of his name, as a contracting party, might be some impediment to the treaty.³

A. D.
1261.
45th of
Henry III.

A PARTY of the Welsh, under the direction of their prince, and in violation of the late treaty, having suddenly taken and demolished the castle of Melienyth in the county of Radnor, a fortress belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer; that nobleman came to its relief, attended by a great body of lords and knights; and, finding no enemy to oppose his design, he stationed himself

¹ Rymer, vol. I. p. 718.

² Rymer, vol. I. p. 718.

³ Carte's Hist. England. Guthrie's Hist. England.

within its ruins. In this situation, he was suddenly invested, by Llewelyn. Finding his post untenable, Mortimer, sent to the Welsh prince for licence to evacuate the castle. It was a strange request for an open enemy, or a suspected traitor to make. With a gallantry of spirit, which might have been derived from the purest ideas of chivalry, Llewelyn allowed him to depart out of the dismantled fortress without any molestation. The prince of Wales then proceeded to Brecknock, at the request of the inhabitants of that country; and having received their oaths of fidelity, he returned to Aber, situated under *Penmaen Mawr*, a palace between Conway and Bangor, in which he occasionally resided.¹

A. D.
1261.

THE truce appears to have been continued between the two nations upon principles of equal justice, and, in some degree, upon the footing of independent states.² These treaties successively renewed, did not result so much from any moderation in the politics of England, as from the necessities of Henry, and from the nature of his government, which was weak and strongly convulsed.

A. D.
1262.

AT this time Henry was sick in France. The earl of Leicester, then attending the English king, and who had been deeply engaged in opposition to that prince, taking advantage of his indisposition, passed over into England; to reanimate his party, and to take measures for renewing the troubles of the nation.³

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 325, 326. Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585.

² Rymer, p. 739, 750.

³ Matth. Westm. p. 149.

Though the earl did not remain long in the country, he seems then to have formed the confederacy, which long after subsisted between himself and the prince of Wales.* The immediate effects resulting from this treaty were of considerable advantage to the interests of Wales; though of less importance than might have been expected, if Llewelyn had waited until time had fully ripened the enterprise.

A. D. 1263.
47th of
Hen. III. THE Christmas holidays were scarcely over, when the prince of Wales, with three hundred horse, and thirty thousand infantry, fell upon the marches of England; and having ravaged the country as far as Wigmore, gained possession of two castles, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.¹ Though Mortimer was not able to oppose the main body of the enemy, he was not wanting to himself on this occasion; but calling to his assistance the lords of the marches, he attacked the detached parties of the Welsh, killing great numbers of them in various rencounters.² For these losses the prince of Wales took ample revenge, having had the good fortune to cut off a like number of the English.³ It does not appear that Llewelyn, in this expedition, committed any ravages, but on those estates which belonged to Sir Roger Mortimer, and to other lords who adhered to the king's cause. Having wasted their territories with fire and sword, he marched his forces into the earldom of Chester, to make the like depredations in Edward's dominions.⁴

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 851.

² Rymer, p. 754.

³ Holinhead, p. 263.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Matth. Paris, p. 851.

THE war becoming now alarming, Henry, who was returned into his own kingdom, sent an order to his son to come immediately into England; the young prince being at this time in France, amusing himself in *jousts* and *tournaments*, agreeably to the taste of this military age.* Edward, placing no confidence in the English nobility, engaged in his service one hundred foreign knights; who, deserting the semblance of war, were desirous of signalising themselves in more perilous encounters.

ON his arrival in England, Edward lost no time in marching against Llewelyn. His presence was highly necessary to check that prince's career. For besides the dreadful devastations he had committed on the territories of Edward, through which he had marched, the prince of Wales had already taken the castle of Diserth, and the important fortress of Diganwy.† These posts were immediately destroyed. The latter had been of the utmost value to the English, and highly dangerous to the safety of Wales. Situated on the coast, it was open to receive a continual supply of provision and soldiers; and, commanding one of the principal passes into Wales over the water of Conway, its garrison was enabled to cut off the excursionary parties of the Welsh; and, being likewise a place of great strength, in point of situation and structure, it afforded to the English a secure retreat upon any disaster.

A. D.
1263.

ON the approach of the English prince, Llewelyn passed the Conway, and sheltered himself amidst the mountains of Snowdon.

* Rymer, p. 755. † J. Ross. Ant. p. 162. M. Paris, p. 851. M. Well. p. 149.

There was no attacking the enemy in so difficult a post; and, fortunately for Edward, as his pride might have been wounded by the issue of the campaign, he was recalled by his father on an affair of importance.¹

A. D. 1263. THE castle of Mold, another place of strength upon the frontier, and usually in the possession of the English, was taken and demolished by Gryffyd ap Gwenwynwyn, at this time returned to his allegiance to the prince of Wales.² These three castles being taken, the English confine was rendered almost defenceless. The reduction of these fortresses, strong by art and nature, lying upon the frontier, and situated near the sea, was an event glorious to Llewelyn, and of the utmost importance to his country. And if this nation had not been sinking into ruin with a force too powerful to be resisted, it might, by these important successes, have continued some ages longer an illustrious monument to the world, of what men are capable of performing, whose native spirit is sharpened by injuries, and who, amidst the recesses of their mountains, are contending for freedom.

THE discontented humours, which had been long forming among the English, were now come to a head; and under the guidance of Simon de Montford the earl of Leicester, had broken out into a dangerous rebellion. The two sons of Montford were dispatched by their father with a strong body of forces, to co-operate with Llewelyn in his ravages on the Borders.³ The con-

¹ Holinhead, p. 264. J. Roff. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

² Welsh Chron. p. 326.

³ Carte's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 141.

federate army, for a time, made a dreadful progress, though opposed by Mortimer and other Lords of the marches, and at length took the castle of Radnor, and burned it to the ground.¹

A. D.
1263.
47th of
Hen. III.

As soon as Edward was informed of these hostilities, he made a hasty march from London to the assistance of Mortimer, then invested by the enemy in the castle of Wigmore. That fortress was soon after taken by the Welsh, but not before Mortimer had made his escape; who fled for protection to prince Edward, then arrived at Hereford.² Pursuing his route, the English prince took the castles of Hay, Huntingdon, and Brecknock; the custody of which he committed to Sir Roger Mortimer.³ The operations on both sides were suddenly interrupted by a truce; during which time a treaty was to be carried on between the king and the barons, in the presence of the French ambassador.⁴ In this treaty, a remission of offences took place, in which Llewelyn was included as the confederate of Simon de Montfort.⁵

A. D.
1264.

THE chance of war at the battle of Lewes, had thrown the king of England and his son Edward, into the hands of the earl of Leicester.⁶ To subdue the only enemies which were now able to resist his arms, that general marched towards the Borders of Wales, and carried Henry with him as a pageant of state; thinking that the presence of his sovereign would give a sanction to his own proceedings, and contribute to the credit and support of the confederacy. Sir Roger Mortimer, and the other lords

A. D.
1264.
48th of
Hen. III.

¹ Holinshed, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193.

² Ibid.

³ Holinshed, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Matth. Paris, p. 851.

⁴ Rymer, p. 775, 780.

⁵ Ibid. p. 782, 783, 784.

⁶ Matth. Paris, p. 853.

engaged in the royal cause, expecting to be attacked by Simon de Montford, had broken down the bridge at Worcester; and having destroyed the ferry-boats on the Severn, they encamped on the opposite banks of the river.¹ These precautions prevented the earl of Leicester from penetrating farther than Worcester. The entrance into the country was soon opened by Llewelyn, his friend and his ally; who, by a sudden inroad upon the English Borders, diverted the attention, and weakened the operations of the lords of the marches.²

A. D. 1265. THE confederate army, under the command of the two leaders, having left prince Edward a prisoner in the city of Hereford, ravaged the estates of Sir Roger Mortimer; and, taking the castles of Hay and Ludlow, proceeded to Montgomery.³ An admonitory bull was issued by Ottobani the legate to the Welsh prince; requiring him to restore the castles which he had taken, and to withdraw from the confederacy. This mandate did not produce the desired effect. The lords of the marches, therefore, yielding to a superior force, and desirous of obtaining the liberty of Edward, submitted to the earl of Leicester. They agreed to surrender to him their estates and their castles, and to relinquish the realm for one year.⁴ Soon after this treaty, a general peace was concluded between Llewelyn and the earl of Leicester, at a conference which they held for that purpose at Hereford.⁵

¹ *Chronica*, T. Wykes, p. 68.

² Brady, p. 648. *Annal. Waverleienfis*, p. 220.

³ *Matth. Paris*, p. 854.

⁴ Brady, p. 648.

⁵ Rymer, p. 814.

IN the course of the late transactions, David the brother of the prince of Wales, deserting the duty which he owed to his sovereign, had fled into England, and had engaged in the interests of Henry. And taking an active part against the confederates, in conjunction with lord Audley, and with other barons in the Marches, he was defeated at Chester with considerable loss.* Though levity of temper and a turbulent spirit, have hitherto directed the conduct of this prince, and disgraced the tenor of his life, a ray of returning virtue will brighten its declining period.

DISSATISFIED no doubt with the late peace, prince Edward, who since his captivity had resided in the English court at Hereford, escaped out of the power of the earl of Leicester.† The young prince was instantly joined by the lords of the Marches; who recovering the possession of their own fortresses, made themselves masters of all the country between Hereford and Chester.‡ By a sudden and rapid movement of the enemy, Leicester found himself surrounded by different bodies of troops. In this situation, he had no other resource, than to throw himself into the arms of Llewelyn. That prince, resolving to make every advantage of the present conjuncture, demanded, as the only condition of affording him protection, a full restitution to the inheritance and the dignity of his ancestors. Under the sanction of the king's name, the sovereignty of Wales was restored to Llewelyn, with the homage of all the Welsh barons; he received a grant also of the lordship of Whittington and the

* Welsh Chron. p. 326.

† Chron. Thomas Wykes, p. 67.

‡ Matth. Paris, p. 855. Rymer, p. 810.

A. D.
1265.
49th of
Henry III.

hundred of Elefmere; with the castles of Matilda, Hawarden and Montgomery.¹ To strengthen the union, and to render it more lasting, the earl of Leicester made an offer to the prince of Wales of his daughter Eleanor. This alliance coincided too well with his present and future views to be rejected by Llewelyn.²

THERE is often a turn in human affairs, arising from sudden contingencies, which neither sagacity can foresee, nor power can prevent; and which, if taken up with spirit and wisely conducted, leads on to prosperity, and marks in the agent a considerable degree of political wisdom. Thus Llewelyn obtained in a fortunate moment, by his own spirit and judgment, acting on the nice and peculiar situation of Henry, the sovereignty of Wales, and an extension of territory; objects which many of his ancestors, the most able and brave, had negotiated and fought for in vain.

IN consequence of this treaty, Llewelyn made an inroad into Glamorgan, the territory of the earl of Gloucester; he likewise sent a body of Welsh to form a junction with Leicester, to enable him to extend his quarters, or to force his way through the enemy.³ Leicester reaped no advantage either from the diversion made in his favour, or from the Welsh forces which had joined him. Having retired to Newport, he was there invested by Edward; and was so powerfully assaulted by that prince,

¹ Rymer, p. 814. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 219.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 234. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 219.

³ Thomas Wykes, p. 68, 69. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 219.

that his ruin must have been inevitable, had he not stolen away with his army in the dead of night; which, being very stormy, favoured the enterprise. He had the good fortune to escape from the enemy, and to arrive within the territories of Llewelyn. The manner of living to which the Welsh were accustomed, chiefly on flesh and milk, and without much bread, not agreeing with his soldiers, his army daily consumed away. To preserve the remainder, Leicester was forced to relinquish the country; and traversing through woods and mountainous roads, he at length with much difficulty made good his retreat, and regained his former situation at Hereford.¹

THE victory obtained by prince Edward at the battle of Evesham,² gave liberty to Henry his father, and restored the tranquillity of England. But the death of Montford, the enlivening spirit of the whole, was a fatal blow to the confederacy. After some slight resistance, the malecontent barons laid down their arms, and submitted to king Henry; their spirit being entirely subdued, or softened down by the moderation of his conduct. The English monarch had now leisure to look back on the part which had been acted by Llewelyn. He had seen with a jealous eye that prince, through the course of the war, ably fomenting the discontents, and powerfully assisting the arms of the revolted lords; and it was now determined, before

A. D.
1265.
48th of
Hen. III.

¹ Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 69.

² The Welsh, who had reinforced the army of the earl of Leicester, accustomed to a more desultory kind of war, fled very early from the field of battle, and were pursued with great slaughter. Henry de Knyghton, p. 2453.

the army was disbanded, that the prince of Wales should feel the whole weight of Henry's resentment.¹

IN pursuance of this design, the king of England came with an army to Shrewsbury. Llewelyn, without an ally to support him, was not able to resist so formidable an enemy; and rather than to hazard his crown, the lustre of which he had lately restored, upon an issue so precarious and unequal, he thought it more prudent to appease Henry's resentment by an early submission.²

A. D.
1267.

A TREATY in consequence took place, by the mediation of Ottobani the legate; which marked the mild tenor of Henry's temper, and was more favourable to Llewelyn's interests, than might have been expected from a sovereign, warm with resentment, and giving law to a rebellious vassal, and a suppliant enemy. The conditions of the treaty were the following: That all lands should be restored on both sides, and that the laws or customs of the marches should still be preserved: That Henry should grant unto Llewelyn and to his heirs, the principality of Wales; that they should always be styled the princes of Wales, and should receive the homage and fealty of all the Welsh barons, who were to hold their estates of them in capite; except the homage of Meredydh ap Rhys of South Wales, which the king reserved to himself and his heirs. The king likewise granted to Llewelyn the four inland cantrevs, to

¹ Brady, p. 663. Matth. Paris, p. 857.

² Ibid.

hold them in as absolute a manner as ever the king and his heirs had possessed them. For these privileges, Llewelyn, and his successors, were to swear fealty; to do homage, and to perform the usual services, due to the king and his heirs, as they had been paid at any time to the crown of England; and he was also required to pay to the king twenty-five thousand marks.¹

The peace was concluded at the castle of Montgomery, and ratified by the king in person; and it likewise received, at the hands of the legate, the sanction of the Pope's authority.² It is with pleasure that we survey this gallant nation, so long the sport of fortune and the victims of ambition, recover, in some degree, the importance of their station; and, freed at length from the arms of a potent enemy, left to enjoy their freedom, for a season, in the bosom of their native mountains.

A. D.
1267.

THE state of affairs in England no longer requiring his presence, prince Edward engaged in a crusade to the Holy Land; hurried along by that fatal tide, which had for almost two centuries deluged the east. On that elevated stage his splendid talents enabled him to perform a graceful and distinguished part. And during the time that this prince was employed in Syria, in a romantic pursuit after glory, the Welsh nation enjoyed a season of unusual tranquillity; a delusive

A. D.
1268.

¹ Hen. de Knighton de Evch. Ang. p. 2436. Matth. Welsh. p. 164. Rymer, p. 843, 844. Matth. Paris, p. 857, says £32,000. Welsh Chron. p. 327. ² Ibid.

In this year [A. D. 1270] died Gryffyd the lord of Dinas-Bran, and was buried in the abbey which his father had erected in the Vale of Crucis near Llangollen. Welsh Chron. p. 327.

calm, which was no more than the presage of impending calamities.

HAVING composed the intestine divisions which had long

A. D. convulsed his kingdom, and in the bosom of peace, died Henry
^{1273.}
 56th year of the third, king of England. His eldest son Edward, at this
 his reign. time fighting in Palestine, succeeded to the throne.

ON the death of the late king, a summons was immediately dispatched by the regency of England to Llewelyn prince of Wales, with orders for him to repair to the Ford of Montgomery; and there to take the oaths of fealty and allegiance to the absent king. Llewelyn thought proper to pay no obedience

A. D. to the summons.¹ And some time after, the English monarch
^{1273.} himself, matured in the arts of policy, and renowned for

A. D. exploits in arms, returned into his own dominions; where he
^{1274.} early entered upon that career of glory, so beneficial to his own empire, but so fatal to Wales.²

Soon after the arrival of that prince in London, he was solemnly crowned at Westminster. The king of Scotland, as the feudatory of Edward, did homage to the English monarch; and with the duke of Bretagne, graced the coronation with his presence.³ To perform the like duties of homage and fealty, the prince of Wales received a summons to appear immediately at Shrewsbury; but he refused to quit his dominions,

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 2, 3.

² Matth. Westm. p. 171.

³ Ibid.

and to venture his safety in the territories of a monarch, so hostile to him, unless hostages were given for the security of his person. The pledges he demanded were Edmund the king's brother, the earl of Gloucester, and the chief justice of England.¹ This refusal was rendered still more disagreeable to Edward, as he was likely to be deprived of another fruit of vassalage; for Llewelyn seemed, at this time, determined to solemnise his marriage with Eleanor de Montford, though he had not obtained the king's consent.² The Pope, likewise, appeared so sensible of the justice of his plea, that he inhibited the archbishop of Canterbury from issuing any papal censure against Llewelyn.³ When the nature of his situation is considered, the caution of the Welsh prince was justified upon the principle of self-preservation. In the bosoms of the two princes, jealousy and hatred had long mingled with the love of glory and the desire of dominion: David and Roderic the younger brothers of the prince of Wales, were entertained in the court of England: many Welsh chieftains, also, who had fled from the justice of their country, were under the protection of Edward; and, influenced by every motive of hope and despair, must have been anxious to promote the destruction of their sovereign: Llewelyn, likewise, too well remembered the fate of his father Gryffyth, to place any confidence in the protection or honour of the English.⁴ He surely, then, when interest and hatred conspired his ruin, would have been guilty of folly and

¹ Rymer, p. 41. J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

² Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Welsh Chron. p. 328.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 35. Matth. Westm. p. 171. ⁴ Rymer, vol. II. p. 35.

rashness in the extreme; if he had hazarded a life, of such importance to his country, on no better security than the courteous ideas of the age, or the fluctuating principles of political integrity.

THE king of England was now in a delicate situation; he was unwilling to relinquish his claim of vassalage, and yet was not at present sufficiently prepared to enforce it by arms. But his genius directed him to pursue a wise and a middle line of conduct. He repaired, late in the year, to Chester, and summoned Llewelyn to do homage at Shrewsbury; but the Welsh prince still continued firm in his refusal to appear without a safe conduct, and hostages for the due observance of it.¹ Early in the next year, a parliament was held at Westminster, and the prince of Wales was again summoned to make his appearance in that assembly, and to take the oaths of allegiance.² He refused also to pay obedience to this summons, on the grounds which he had heretofore alledged.³

A. D.
1275.

ENGAGED in correcting the disorders of the kingdom, and instituting salutary laws, Edward, for the present, affected to dissemble his resentment against Llewelyn; and repairing to Chester, he again summoned the Welsh prince to do homage,⁴ who still refused his compliance. He likewise rejected three other mandates of the like nature; one of which was dated in October in the same year, and the two others very early in

¹ J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Rymer, vol. II. p. 57. ² Ibid.

³ Holinshed, p. 278. ⁴ Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.

the year following.¹ To justify these refusals still more, to the clergy and to the world, he sent a memorial by the abbots of Conway and Strata-Florida, to be delivered into the hands of the archbishops of York and Canterbury, and of other bishops who were then assembled in convocation.² There is a native simplicity which runs through the whole of this memorial,³ reciting his grievances and justifying his conduct, which pleads more ably the cause of the Welsh prince, than could have been effected by the exercise of the finest talents.

THE tenor of Edward's conduct with respect to Llewelyn, did not delude the sagacity of that prince. He saw, that a blow was meditating by the English king, which, though suspended for a time, would be the more severe, and would fall with greater weight upon his country, from the coolness, the delay, and increasing power of that firm and sagacious monarch.

LLEWELYN, therefore, thought it prudent, at this time, to fulfil an engagement which he had formerly made; and to enter into an alliance with a family, which might yield him support against the formidable power of his rival. In the course of the late war, he had been betrothed to Eleanor the daughter of Simon de Montford, and niece* to king Henry;

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

² Wynne's History of Wales, p. 280. Welsh Chron. p. 329, 330.

³ See Appendix, No. II.

* Her father Simon de Montford, espoused Eleanor, dowager of William earl of Pembroke, and sister to Henry the third. Matth. Paris, p. 314.

and

and who, at that time, it is probable, was too young to solemnize the marriage. On the death of her father, the young lady had retired into the monastery of Montargis in France. In this court her mother the countess of Leicester, and her brother the heir of the family, lived in great splendour.¹ The adherents of the house of Montford were still powerful in England; and the fame of the English monarch, had made him the object of jealousy with the French king. To unite the views of the two parties in support of his interest, or struck with the reputation of her charms, now rising into full beauty, the prince of Wales demanded of the king of France the daughter of the late earl of Leicester. Philip with much facility granted his request; and Llewelyn waited in impatient expectation of his bride.² But the pleasing ideas, which the prospect of his approaching nuptials afforded to Llewelyn, were on a sudden embittered by disappointment, and lost in the ruder avocations of war.

A. D. 1276. EARLY in this year, the young lady, who was cousin to the English king, attended by her brother Amaury, a clergyman, set sail for the coast of Wales to solemnize her marriage with Llewelyn; but near the isles of Scilly she had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by four ships from the port of Bristol, and was conveyed to the court of England. Instead of yielding up this lady into the hands of her lover, which the ideas of the age might have suggested, and which prudence too as well as

¹ Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Matth. West. p. 171. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 104.

² Ibid.

the laws of chivalry demanded, she was detained in the English court in an honourable attendance on the queen.¹ Her brother, likewise, was kept in confinement many years in the castles of Corfe and Sherburn; nor did he at length obtain his liberty, until demanded by the Pope as his chaplain; and after he had taken an oath that he would relinquish the realm, and would never be concerned in any commotion in the kingdom.²

AFTER so decisive a conduct, as the detention of Eleanor de Montford, all lenient measures, and the arts of expediency were weak, delusive and fruitless. Edward now determined to exert every effort, which his power and his talents afforded, to obtain, what had long been the object of his ambition or policy, the entire conquest of Wales. Before measures were taken to carry this design into execution, the archbishop of Canterbury, with other prelates and lords of the realm, desired Edward, that as the last expedient, he would afford to Llewelyn one other opportunity of acknowledging the sovereignty of England, and of yielding to its orders unconditional obedience. With this design, the archdeacon of Canterbury was sent into Wales, with an injunction to the Welsh prince, that he should appear in the English court, and should there perform the customary duties of a vassal.³ But at this time Llewelyn was in arms, and had ravaged the English Borders; resenting the late conduct of Edward, and alive to the feelings of an injured prince, deeply wounded by the captivity of his much loved Eleanor.⁴

¹ Annales Waverleienfis, p. 231, 232.

² Rymer, vol. II. p. 144, 193, 197.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

⁴ Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Holinshed, p. 278.

THE archdeacon of Canterbury was ordered to make his report to the parliament ensuing, which was to be held on the thirteenth of October. In the mean time the prince of Wales sent letters to the king, signifying that he would come either to Montgomery or Oswestry to perform his homage; provided a safe conduct was allowed him, under the sanction of the archbishop and archdeacon of Canterbury, the bishop of Winton, and five other English lords.¹ He likewise demanded that the king should confirm the articles of peace which had been concluded between Henry the third and himself; and that he should deliver into his hands Eleanor de Montford, the lady to whom he was contracted, as well as her retinue; all of whom, he asserted, had been detained in custody contrary to the faith of nations.² These just and simple demands excited in the English parliament a general indignation. They granted a fifteenth of moveables to enable the king to reduce Llewelyn by force of arms; the prelates, likewise, gave him a voluntary subsidy; though their zeal in this instance did not rise above their prudence; as they made a provision, that in future it should not be drawn into precedent. In the presence of the English monarch, sitting in his court, with the lords of his council, the judges, and a great number of bishops, earls, and barons, the whole process was read on November the twelfth; and sentence was pronounced upon Llewelyn for contumacy, for violation of the peace between him and the late king, and for the hostilities which he had lately committed in the marches. It was there determined to proceed against him as a contumacious vassal, and as a traitor to his sovereign. It

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1276.

A. D.
1276.

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

² Ibid.

was likewise resolved in the same assembly, that all the military tenants of the crown should be summoned to appear at Worcester, on the midsummer following, with horses and arms, suitably equipped for an expedition into Wales; that in the mean time, the marches should be well guarded, and the forts supplied with ammunition; that the king should prohibit all his subjects in England, Ireland, and Guienne, from holding any correspondence with Llewelyn, or his adherents; from giving them any assistance, or supplying them with any provisions; and whoever violated this prohibition, was to be adjudged an adherent to the public enemies of the king and kingdom, and to suffer accordingly.¹

THE authority of the church of Rome was not silent on this solemn occasion. In this instance the prince of Wales experienced the versatility of her conduct. The archbishop of Canterbury sent a letter to Llewelyn, and threatened him with the severest censures which the clergy were able to inflict; and a few months after, his person was excommunicated, and his dominions laid under an interdict.²

IN the late negotiation, the prince of Wales had offered to the English king a large sum of money as a ransom for Eleanor de Montford. Edward, on his part, refused to restore her, unless the Welsh prince would reinstate the former proprietors in the

¹ Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 185, from Pat. 4, Ed. I. m. 6. Rymer, vol. II. p. 72—75.

² Rymer, vol. II. p. 71, 79.

possession of those estates which he had lately taken from them, and would also repair the castles he had demolished.¹ However ardent his desire of obtaining possession of the lady might be, the duty which he owed to his country prevailed, and Llewelyn rejected the proposal with disdain. Upon which, the two princes proceeded in their preparations for war.

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2d of
Edw. I.

EARLY in the spring, Edward had sent into the marches a detachment of three hundred horse well appointed, to check the incursions of the Welsh, and to guard the confine.² He likewise made Sir Roger Mortimer general of his forces in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and in the adjacent countries. He appointed the first day of July for his military tenants to assemble at Worcester.³

THE experience of past ages had proved to the English kings, that a want of public virtue in its chieftains had been the vulnerable part of Wales. To seduce them from their duty at this crisis, was of too much importance to be neglected by Edward. With a view to encourage a defection among the Welsh lords, orders were given to the earl of Warwick, and to Payen de Chaworth, the one commander in Cheshire, and the other in South Wales, to receive into favour such of Llewelyn's adherents, as were willing to submit to the authority, and become the vassals of the king of England.⁴ The policy of Edward fatally prevailed.

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 172. Annales Waverlicienfis, p. 231.

² Ibid. p. 172. Ibid. p. 232.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 72.

⁴ Rymer, p. 72, 81.

Rhys ap Meredydh the lord of Dinevawr, descended from the ancient princes of South Wales, set the example of disloyalty; on the only condition of holding his territory immediately from the king, and not being subject to any other lord.' The defection of so eminent a chieftain as Rhys ap Meredydh, had a fatal influence in the country; all the lords in South Wales followed his example; and, as a voluntary fruit of their submission, the strong fortress of Stratywy was given up to the English; who, for the better defence of the country, erected a castle at Aberystwyth.²

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THE æra is now at no great distance which is to mark the close of the ancient British empire. And considering the weak and disunited state of the Welsh, and their unequal resources, the operations of Edward in conducting the war, planned in wisdom and carried on with vigour, must in the nature of things ensure its success.

Soon after Easter, Edward left London to regulate the measures of the ensuing campaign, in the full resolution never to return until he had entirely subdued the Welsh nation. He directed a fleet from the Cinque Ports to cruize on the coast of Wales, with a view of intercepting the commerce of the enemy, and of reducing the island of Anglesey; that the Welsh, by such means, might be deprived of their usual resources of procuring provisions.³ At the same time he sent a body of troops into South

² Rymer, p. 81.

² Welsh Chr. p. 334, 336. J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

³ Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

Wales, to reinforce the army under the command of Payen de Chaworth; in order to distract the enemies attention, and reduce that country to a perfect submission to the English government.¹ Each of these manœuvres produced the desired effect. That the administration of justice might not be delayed, by the absence of Edward, and the length of the war, he removed the court of exchequer, and the court of king's bench, to Shrewsbury.²

A. D. 1277. THESE measures being taken, the king of England, on the Midsummer following, advanced at the head of a large army into Cheshire; intending to penetrate the enemies country, through that part of the frontier which borders upon the Dee. His forces were likewise increased by numbers of country people who joined him in the marches; and who, it is probable, were usefully employed as pioneers to the army; in opening roads through a deep forest, which in general extended from the confines of Cheshire to the mountains of Snowdon.³ During this tedious operation, Edward encamped his forces upon Saltney Marsh, near Chester.⁴ While he remained in this situation, he rebuilt the castle of Flint, and more strongly fortified Rhuddlan castle; to secure the country which he had already subdued, and to afford his army a safe retreat, in case he should meet with any disaster.⁵ The roads at length being finished, and no enemy appearing to molest them, the English advanced through the

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 324.

² Matth. Westm. p. 172.

³ Thomas Wyke, p. 105. Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

⁴ Brady, vol. II. p. 7. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 888.

⁵ Hen. de Knyghton Ewent. Ang. p. 2462. Thomas Wykes, p. 105.

level part of the country to Conway. The prince of Wales, unable to resist a powerful enemy, pressing on by slow, cautious, and decisive operations, retired to the mountains of Snowdon.¹ The English monarch, not choosing to enter the recesses of that difficult country, calmly waited the result of his policy.

WITH a fatality which had usually attended the princes of his family, Llewelyn had trusted the safety of Wales to the chance of war, and to the natural strength of the country; which had so often baffled the armies of England, unable to subsist long in a region, broken by rocks and rivers, woods, and barren mountains. Not preparing for contingencies, nor observing the measures of the English king, nor the effects already produced, he had neglected to furnish with necessary supplies of provision an important post, to which he and his people, in their deepest distress, might be forced to retire.² The experience of past ages might have taught him the wisdom of a different conduct. Had he pursued such measures which the nature of his situation required, he might have seen the English army wasting away; and, at the approach of winter, abandoning all its conquests, and leaving him once more in possession of his country. The talents of Llewelyn, at this perilous crisis, sunk under the genius of his rival. There might be strong reasons, however, of which the annals of the times are silent, to excuse in the Welsh prince, a conduct so fatal to his interests.

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 173. Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

² Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

THE prospect which opened to Llewelyn, upon the mountains of Snowdun, was dreary and desolate. His enemies were masters of the country below, and seemed determined, by their perseverance, to starve him into submission. The island of Anglesey, his usual resource for provisions, was then possessed by the English.¹ No diversion could be made in his favour in South Wales or in England, as the former country had lately submitted to Edward's authority; and in the latter, the adherents of the house of Montford² were satisfied by having had their forfeited estates restored. The distress of Llewelyn was heightened still more by the prospect of an immediate famine.³

Thus surrounded by dangers, he had no better alternative than to implore the mercy of the English king. A magnanimous prince, like Llewelyn, the freedom of his country being lost, would scarcely have wished to survive its ruin; if the sufferings of his people, crowding around him, and perishing by famine, had not claimed his pity, and inclined him to hazard his own interests and personal safety from a tender regard to theirs. It is possible, too, the Welsh prince might hope, that in the event of some future day, he might again rise upon the wheel of fortune.

IN this state of his affairs, the prince of Wales sent to propose an accommodation with the king of England. There was little generosity or pity to be expected in the terms which would be offered by Edward. As a first and necessary condition of the

¹ Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

² Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 887.

³ Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

peace, it was required of Llewelyn, that he should submit to the mercy of the conqueror.¹ On this basis, the peace was concluded on the following terms; and afterwards ratified, at Conway, in the absence of the king, by the commissioners of the two princes.² It was agreed, that all prisoners who were confined by Llewelyn, for adhering to the English cause, should be set at liberty. That the prince should pay to the king fifty thousand marks, as a compensation for the injuries which had been committed, and for being received into favour. That four cantreys should be given up to the king, and remain with him and his heirs for ever.³ That the adherents of the English king should be restored to all the estates which they had possessed before the war. That the Welsh prince should continue to hold the island of Anglesey, and should pay for that privilege the annual sum of one thousand marks; but if he should die without issue, the island was then to revert to the king and his heirs for ever.⁴ That all the barons in Wales should hold their territories immediately of the king, except the five barons in Snowdon, who should acknowledge the prince as their lord during his life. That Llewelyn should come into England every Christmas to do homage to the king. That he should repair to Rhuddlan as soon as he was absolved from

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 95, 97.

² Ibid.

³ J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Matth. Westm. p. 873. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 232.—These were the cantrev of Rhos, in which stood the castle of Diganwy; the cantrev of Rhyvonioc, the chief place of which was Denbigh; the cantrev of Tegengl, where stood the castle of Rhuddlan; the cantrev of Dyffryn Clwyd, in which were erected the town and castle of Ruthyn. Welsh Chron. p. 334.

⁴ Chron. T. Wykes, p. 106,

the censures of the church, to take the customary oath of fealty to the king; and likewise that he should perform the same duty in London on the day appointed for that purpose. That he should enjoy, during his life, the title of prince of Wales; and that after his death, the five barons of Snowdun should hold their estates of the English king. That for the performance of these articles, the prince should deliver as hostages ten of the most eminent chieftains in Wales. That Llewelyn should send every year twenty chieftains out of North Wales, who, with himself, should take their oaths for the due performance of these articles. If the prince should infringe any of them, and on being admonished, should refuse to redress the same, they were then obliged by their oaths to forsake his cause, and to take part with his enemies.¹ As a personal humiliation to Llewelyn, he was likewise obliged to restore to his brother Owen the estate he had forfeited; and to pay Roderic an annuity of one thousand marks, and five hundred to David.² Owen by this treaty was also delivered from the confinement in which he had been long kept by Llewelyn. His brother Roderic had lately escaped out of prison, and had fled into England. David, whom we have heretofore mentioned, was at this time in the service of the English king, who had made him a knight, contrary to the custom of the Welsh; and had given him likewise in marriage the daughter of the earl of Derby; a

¹ *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 232. J. Roffi. *Ant. Warw.* p. 163, 164. Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 90, 91.

² Rymer, vol. II. p. 88—95.

handsome widow, and of the queen's bed-chamber,¹ whose husband was lately dead. He had been appointed the seneschal, and keeper of all the castles in Wales; and received also from the king the castles of Denbigh, and of Frodsham in Cheshire, with land to the yearly value of one thousand pounds.²

THE terms agreed upon at this treaty in favour of the prince of Wales were as follows: That if he should lay claim to estates which were occupied by any other person than the king, out of the limits of the four ceded cantrevs, justice should in that case be administered according to the laws and customs of those parts where such estates should lie. That all injuries and faults committed on either side should be entirely remitted, and should receive a full pardon. That all tenants holding land in the four cantrevs, and in other places in the holding of the king, should possess such as freely as they formerly had done, and should enjoy such customs and liberties which appertained to them before the late wars. All controversies arising between the prince of Wales and any other person should be decided by the laws of the marches, if taking their rise in those parts; and any dispute originating in Wales, should be determined by the laws of that country. That the advantage arising out of wrecks, on his own territories, should belong to the Welsh prince; and all other customs should be confirmed to him which had been enjoyed by his ancestors; and although the prince had thus submitted entirely to the king's

¹ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2463, 2464.

² Welsh Chron. p. 335. Rymer, p. 89. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 232.

mercy, it was agreed, that no injury should be committed, nor any demand ever made contrary to the tenor of the peace.¹ The English king, it is true, relaxed in some degree from the severity of the treaty, and remitted to Llewelyn the fifty thousand marks, which he was to have paid as a compensation for the ravages committed in the late war; he also remitted the yearly tribute of one thousand marks which he had exacted from the Welsh prince, for the privilege of holding during his life the island of Anglesey.²

HAVING thus in the late fortunate campaign completed, as he might think, the entire conquest of Wales, Edward returned into England amidst the applauses of his subjects. His pride, no doubt, was gratified, and his triumph received additional lustre, by the attendance which Llewelyn gave him to the English court; where the Welsh prince did homage and swore fealty to him on Christmas day, in the presence of many prelates and of all the nobility of England.³ But an incident, of no moment in itself, resulting from the late event, and acting with other causes, produced a change in affairs of the highest importance to Wales.

THE barons of Snowdun, with other chieftains of the most considerable families in Wales, accompanying their prince to

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 346, 347, 348.

² Rymer, vol. II. p. 91, 92. But it appears from Holinhead, p. 277, that Edward, during his residence at Rhuddlan, received from the prince of Wales two thousand marks.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 96. Matth. Westm. p. 173. Chron. T. Wyke, p. 106.

London, had brought with them large retinues, as was the custom of their country, who were lodged in Islington, and in the adjacent villages. Many causes conspired to make their situation disagreeable. These places did not afford a sufficiency of milk for such numerous trains : and they relished neither the wine nor the beer of London. Though entertained with plenty, they were not pleased with their new manner of living, which suited neither their taste, nor perhaps their constitutions. They were still more displeased with the crowd of people who attended them whenever they came out of their quarters ; eying them with the utmost contempt as savages, and laughing at their foreign garb and unusual appearance.* To be made the subject of derision, and to be pointed at by the finger of scorn, in their various journies through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, could not be pleasing to a people, proud and irascible ; and who, though vanquished, were still alive to injury and insult, to a sense of their own valour, and to the fond idea of their native independence. Resenting this treatment, and feeling their dishonoured situation, they privately entered into a resolution to revolt on the first opportunity ; determined to die in their own country as freemen, rather than to come any more as vassals into England, to be the sport of a haughty and contemptuous nation.

It was now manifest that Edward intended, on the death of Llewelyn, to unite to the English crown the country which

* Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191. from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Thomas Mostyn, baronetti, p. 315.

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1278.

he had lately subdued. A popular delusion stood in the way of his views. An idea had been fondly kept up in the imaginations of the Welsh, that the celebrated Arthur was still alive, that he was one day to return, and restore to the remnant of the ancient Britons the empire of their fathers. To set aside this idle fancy, cherished by the vulgar, and which might have been fatal at this juncture, Edward and Eleanor his queen, early in the year, undertook a journey to Glastonbury, where the remains of that venerated hero lay interred.¹ Under colour of doing honour to this British king, and affording his bones a more magnificent interment, Edward ordered the body of Arthur to be taken out of its coffin, and with the remains of Gweniver his queen, to be exposed to public view. They were then repositied near the high altar; with an inscription on the coffin, signifying, that these were the remains of Arthur; and that they had been viewed by the king and queen of England, in presence of the earl of Savoy, the elect bishop of Norwich, besides several other noblemen and clergy.² It is easy to discern the policy of this prince even in the smaller traits of his character.

DURING the king's residence at Glastonbury, a parliament was held in that place; at which meeting Llewelyn was summoned to appear; with the probable design, that he and his

¹ Malmibury de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ, p. 306. Gales Scriptores.

² Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 187. from Regist. Glastonbury, penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 233. Stowe's Chron. p. 200. Guthrie's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 889.

retinue,

retinue, having seen the late ceremony exhibited, might not carry into their own country the least hope of advantage, from so vain and whimsical a fancy. To this summons, however, the prince of Wales did not think proper to pay obedience.*

IT is easy to conceive that Edward, alive to his interests and jealous of his power, would be eager to check the contumacy of a vassal in Llewelyn's situation. To enforce his obedience, the king, attended by Eleanor his queen, repaired to Worcester; from whence he sent an order to the Welsh prince to appear at his court, and to account for his late conduct. The rigor of this summons was softened by an invitation to a royal feast which was to be held in that city; with an assurance, too, that he should be treated with honour, and that the lovely Eleanor de Montford should be the reward of his obedience.[†] There was a decision in this mandate, which love would not suffer him to evade, nor prudence to disobey, and which soon brought Llewelyn to the English court; where a scene was exhibited, from which every eye must turn with disdain, that is directed by a feeling and liberal spirit. The prelude to this scene was the performance of a rigorous ceremony. Being introduced into the presence of Edward, the prince of Wales fell upon his knees at the feet of that monarch, and yielded himself up to his mercy; he was then commanded to rise, and, in consideration of his dutiful demeanour, the king was pleased to pardon his de-

* Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 187. from Regist. Glouc. penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93.

† Welsh Chron. p. 348.

linquency; at the same time declaring, that if he again presumed to rebel, he should be punished with the utmost severity.¹ Relying on the honour of a great monarch, and duped by his artifice, we see Llewelyn, a prince of a gallant spirit, and the brave descendant of a line of independent sovereigns, become amenable to usurped power.²

HAVING now succeeded in his views, and, as he thought, having rendered Llewelyn docile in the duties of vassalage, Edward gave him back the hostages which he had lately received; and also delivered up to him Eleanor de Montford, with the estate which had been the property of her father.³ On this occasion, Llewelyn engaged to appear twice in the year before the English parliament.⁴ The marriage was celebrated on the thirteenth of October, the expence of which was defrayed by Edward; and, as a farther mark of his favour, the ceremony was graced by the presence of the king himself and his queen.⁵ But on the very day that the marriage was to be solemnised, and in consequence, as Llewelyn and his bride were going to hear mass, the English king required of that prince that he should enter into a covenant, never to protect any person whatever contrary to his pleasure. The rigid sentiments of duty, put to so severe a trial, were too weak to subdue in the bosom

A. D.
1278.

¹ Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462. ² Welsh Chron. p. 348.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 125. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

⁴ Henry de Knyghton, p. 2462.

⁵ Holinshed, p. 277. Thomas Wyke, p. 107. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

of the Welsh prince the feelings of nature. Alive to love and its keen sensibilities, and in fear no doubt for his liberty or life, the firmness of the gallant Llewelyn sunk under their influence. The enamoured prince, besides conceding to other requisitions, signed a covenant; which loosened every tie of confidence, and which might in future give up to the resentment, or to the interested views of Edward, the most faithful adherent to his interests.¹ It is only from a motive of personal dislike, for it could not have arisen from any just principle of policy, that we are able to account for the insult which was offered to Llewelyn; in detaining this lady so long in the English court, and impeding the views of honourable love. In these traits of Edward's character, we see no traces of heroism; no resemblance of the courteous manners, which distinguished the most cultivated period of the feudal ages.

As soon as the ceremony was finished, Llewelyn, with his amiable wife, returned into Wales; to soothe the asperity of adverse fortune in the enjoyment of domestic felicity.

Few incidents occur at this period in the national concerns of Wales. The spirit of the people, pressed down by the rigour of a foreign government, wanted its usual activity. Regretting the freedom they had lost, but too weak to recover it, they were silent and dejected. But the spirit of the Welsh, though depressed and rendered inactive for a time, urged by despair into manly

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 348.

efforts, will soon recover its native spring ; and, armed with its wonted terrors, will exert itself again in the fields of war.

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1280.

THE calamities of a public nature, which surrounded Llewelyn, were rendered more bitter by domestic sorrow ; in the severe loss which he sustained by the death of his wife Eleanor de Montford ;¹ who at this time died in child-bed. It seems as if this lady, through her influence with the hostile princes, and by soothing their angry spirits, had given a check to the ravages, and had suspended the horrors of war.² Her death loosened the only tie of union subsisting between the two nations.

WE have already noticed, that the deepest disgust had been excited in the breasts of those chieftains who had attended Llewelyn into England ; and that in consequence they had determined to throw off their allegiance. As soon as these chieftains returned, they diffused this spirit throughout Wales, and it became the common cause of the country. Other motives of a nearer and more essential concern, assisted to fix more deeply that spirit. The Welsh, in the newly subdued country, had early begun to taste, in the conduct of their master, the bitter fruits of submission. It was the design of that prince, by one decisive blow, to leave them not a trace of their ancient jurisprudence. When Edward heretofore possessed these countries by the grant of his father, he had thrown them into districts like those of the counties of England ; had appointed sheriffs with power to hold courts,

¹ Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

² Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Baker's Chron. p. 95.

had

had instituted other officers, and had sent English judges to administer justice. On the recent submission of the Welsh, he revived these institutions. It is strange that a wise prince should urge on so violent a conduct, before the lenient power of time had softened their spirits. For to tear up old habits which are dear to a people, is often an enterprise of danger. And when laws are imposed at the point of the sword, they are always received with hatred, and must be maintained by force. The Welsh, as was natural, surveyed the design with indignation and horror. Attached to the customs of their fathers, they determined to receive neither laws nor manners, judges nor juries, nor any institutions which were derived from the English.¹

THE prince of Wales, in his own person, had cause to complain of injuries the most humiliating and poignant ;² of which the following was an instance. There was a suit depending between him and Gryffyd ap Gwenwynwyn, respecting an estate which he held of the king, and lying in the marches. He was highly displeased with an order he had received from the judges, to attend the hearing of that suit at Montgomery ;* contrary to a custom

¹ Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191, from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Roger Mostyn, baronetti, p. 315.

² Welsh Chron. p. 346, &c. See Appendix, No. III.

* It appears that Llewelyn was summoned by king Edward to repair in person to different places, in order to receive judgment respecting the above-mentioned suit. Welsh Chron. p. 346. And it is highly probable, during this time, that the following remarkable circumstance took place. Edward being at Aust Ferry on the Severn, and knowing that the prince of Wales was on the opposite side, sent him an invitation to come over the river, that they might confer together and settle some matters in

a custom established in Wales and in the marches, that all causes of this nature should be tried on the very land which was the subject of dispute. The tenor of the late treaty, likewise, justified Llewelyn's refusal. Though the judges sent down were men of honour and integrity, he could not be prevailed upon to repair to Montgomery; concluding that such a measure would yield up an essential article of the peace, and would derogate from his dignity as a sovereign prince.*

THE idea that this demand might in future be drawn into precedent, awakened at last prince David to a sense of his own situation, who might hope to succeed to the sovereignty of Wales upon the death of his brother. He had himself already experienced many causes of complaint, of fear, and of jealousy, respecting the property which he held under Edward.^a He was sued by William Venables, an Englishman, before the justiciary of Chester, for the villages of Hope and Estyn; contrary to the custom of Wales, and the spirit of the agreement under which he had held them of the English king. That officer likewise had cut down his woods of Lleweny, with those about Hope, and had sold the timber and carried it into Ireland. He was also threatened, when Reginald de Grey the other justiciary came

dispute. This being refused by Llewelyn, Edward threw himself into a boat, and crossed over to the Welsh prince; who, struck with the gallantry of the action, leaped into the water to receive him; telling the king, at the same time, that his humility had conquered his own pride, and that his wisdom had triumphed over his own folly. See *Tour through Great-Britain*, vol. II. p. 305. London printed, 1753.

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 172. *Leges Wallie*, p. 524. ^a See Appendix, No. IV.

into

into the country, that the castle of Hope should be taken from him, and that his children should be secured as pledges of his fidelity in future.¹ Many chieftains, the most eminent in the country, had likewise much reason to complain of injuries which they themselves had received.² The rigorous exactions of the English officers in Wales, partial and oppressive, and repugnant to the manners of the people, heightened their sufferings to an insupportable degree.³

IN this season of national misery, when their common fate depended solely upon a virtuous union, the Welsh chieftains besought prince David, that he would be reconciled to his brother Llewelyn; calling on him by every incitement which might act upon a brave or an angry spirit, to desert the cause of a merciless ravager, to retrieve the honour he had lost, to return to the duty which he owed his country, and to shield her in the hour of her danger. The sentiments of David were agreeable to the wishes of his countrymen, and his present views congenial with their own. Feeling for those miseries which in some measure, he himself had produced, and a ray of patriotism springing up in his bosom, he consented to be reconciled to his brother, and to engage in the common cause.⁴ Sensible of the peril which awaited him, if success did not justify the revolt; or too suspicious of Llewelyn to confide in his firmness, he required from that prince an assurance that he would never again yield obedience to the English king, nor would ever relax in his enmity against

A. D.
1281.

¹ Welsh Chr. p. 350, 351.

² Welsh Chron. from p. 351 to 363.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 805. Welsh Chron. p. 336.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 337.

him..

him.¹ This condition being agreed to by Llewelyn, prince David withdrew privately from the court of England, and arrived with safety in Wales.²

A. D.
1282.
8th of
Edw. I.

THE concert being made for a general insurrection, David opened the campaign by a gallant exploit, which was performed late in the evening of Palm Sunday. In the night, which was dark and stormy, he took by surprise the castle of Hawarden; the governor of which, Roger de Clifford, and who was also the justiciary of Wales, was taken in his bed; and, mortally wounded, was carried away prisoner in chains to Snowdon; several knights residing in the fortrefs, though unarmed, were put to the sword in the fury of the storm. After this action, the two brothers Llewelyn and David, having joined their forces, invested the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan; the only fortresses which were then in the possession of the English.³ These exploits were regarded as the signals of revolt. The Welsh, rising from every quarter, in a moment were in arms. The spirit of their fathers seemed to animate every bosom. Rhys ap Maelgwyn and Gryffyd ap Meredydh surprised the castle of Aberystwyth, and ravaged the present counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. Many chieftains, likewise, obtained possession of other fortresses in South Wales. Numerous parties of the Welsh, all on fire for revenge, poured on a sudden upon the marches of England; and, like the inundations of their native rivers, in rapidity and violence, spread all around devastation and ruin.

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 337. ² Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Polidore Virgil, p. 323.

³ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464, says, that they slew all the masons, carpenters and other workmen employed in these fortresses.

AT this time the king of England was at the Devizes, where he was keeping his Easter;¹ not suspecting the event which had happened, nor fearing the efforts of an irascible people, whose feelings had been urged into a dangerous extreme. The revolt of the Welsh princes determined the conduct of the English monarch. Instead of waiting the slow issue which time, or luxury, or mildness might produce, he once more determined to make an entire conquest of Wales; and totally to extinguish that spirit of freedom, which, rising at times into dangerous exertion, not all the efforts of his policy and power had as yet been able to subdue. All other concerns were now laid aside; the credit of Edward, his talents, and the strength of his kingdom, were rendered subservient to this great design.

PREVIOUS to his military operations he dispatched letters to the two archbishops, commanding them to issue spiritual censures against the Welsh prince, and all his adherents.² John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury, before he proceeded to extremities, unknown to the king, as it is said, and apparently in the true spirit of benevolence, undertook a journey into Wales; to endeavour to recall Llewelyn, and the Welsh chieftains, to a sense of their duty.³

IN the mean time, Edward sent a part of his forces to the relief of those castles, to which the Welsh princes had laid siege; and he also issued out orders that his military tenants should

¹ Thomas Wykes, p. 110. Holinshed, p. 281.

² Rymer, vol. II. p. 188.

³ Polidore Virgil, p. 323. Holinshed, p. 281. Welsh Chron. p. 338.

assemble at Worcester, on the seventeenth of May.¹ He obtained from the nobility and prelates a promise of a fifteenth of their moveables, and afterwards a thirtieth.² The clergy, likewise, gave him a twentieth of their temporalities, to enable him to carry on this popular war.³ As these aids could not be raised so soon as the service might require, he borrowed money of all the trading towns in England, which was to answer his present necessities; and he desired a like loan out of Ireland from the merchants, the prelates, and nobility of that kingdom.⁴ Such was the esteem in which Edward was held, that Gaston de Bern⁵ desired to have the honour of serving in the Welsh expedition; and even the Scots, on this occasion, offered their services; little thinking that they themselves would soon become the victims of that prince's ambition.⁶ The barons of the exchequer, and the judges of the king's bench repaired to Shrewsbury, with orders to hold their courts in that town during the continuance of the war.⁷ A nation like the Welsh, small in extent, and scattered over a few barren mountains, rise into importance as we view these mighty preparations.

A. D.
1282.
8th of
Edw. I.

As soon as he had concerted his measures, the king of England began his march, at the latter end of April, for the confines of Wales. Finding that the war was likely to become more difficult

¹ Brady, vol. II. p. 6. Grafton's Chr. p. 165. Chr. T. Wykes, p. 110. Rymer, vol. II. p. 189.

² Brady, p. 11, 96.

³ Carte's Hist. Eng. p. 192, from Chron. Dunstable.

⁴ Rymer, vol. II. p. 220.

⁵ Ibid. p. 206.

⁶ Guthrie, vol. I. p. 895.

⁷ Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235.

than he had at first conceived, he issued out summonses from Worcester, that all his military tenants should meet him at Rhuddlan in the ensuing month of June; the prelates of England, and twenty-four abbots holding of the crown, were also included in these orders to send thither their services.¹

EDWARD, on his march to Chester, was joined by the country people who inhabited the Borders, and whom he employed as before, in opening roads through the enemies country.² After staying a fortnight in Chester to refresh his troops, he invested, about the middle of June, the castle of Hope. This fortress, which for some time had been in David's possession, was yielded up to the king, almost as soon as he appeared before it.³ On the approach of Edward, the Welsh princes raised the siege of Rhuddlan castle, and retreated slowly towards Snowdun; thinking it more prudent to seize every opportunity of cutting off his detached parties, than with unequal force to fight him in the open field.⁴ The retreat of Llewelyn, for the present, was of little advantage to the enemy; like that of a lion, it was slow, sudden, and full of danger. Seizing a favourable opportunity, he put to flight a detachment of the English army; fourteen ensigns were taken in the action; the lords Audley and Clifford, the son of William de Valence, Richard de Argenton,⁵ with many others were slain; and the king himself, defeated and in

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 188, 199.

² Ibid. p. 207.

³ Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 193, from *Annales Cestrensis*.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 337.

⁵ Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110.

disgrace, was obliged to retire for protection into Hope castle, the fortress he had lately taken.*

It was not until the latter end of autumn, that Edward was able to perform any action of moment. In the middle of July that prince resided in the castle of Rhuddlan; and issued orders from thence to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties, to send him, in proportion to the extent of each, a number of hatchet men; who were to cut down the woods, and open passages for his army, before it could advance any farther with convenience or safety.² He also gave grants to several of the English barons, of land in the four cantrevs, the late ceded country; adding the incitement of interest to the national zeal in his service.³

DURING these transactions, the archbishop of Canterbury had come, a second time, into Wales; and had sent a monitory letter to Llewelyn and to all his adherents; in which he reproved them for their late revolt, urged them to return to their allegiance, and desired that they would point out their grievances; for all of which, if justly founded, he would endeavour to obtain them redress. At the same time he held out a menace, that in case of contumacy, they would draw upon themselves the

* Welsh Chron. p. 372, from Thomas Walsingham. Camden's Brit. p. 688.

² Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 895.

³ Annals Waverleianse, p. 235. Welsh Chron. p. 564.

severest censures of the church, besides all the power of an irritated nation.'

IN answer to this letter, Llewelyn, assisted by his council, thought proper to send a memorial dated from Aber,* in the latter end of October.† In a strain of eloquence, mild and persuasive, and which might do honour to a more polished age, he recited the various evils which he himself and his country had sustained from Edward's ambition, and the rapine of delegated power; and with a firmness, softened by piety and meekness, he demanded that justice, from the rights of nature, and from the spirit of the treaties subsisting, which the king of England had hitherto denied him.‡

THE like memorials were sent by David the brother of the Welsh prince, by the men of Rhos, by Rhys Vychan of Strath-Towi, by Llewelyn and Howel the sons of Rhys, by the sons of Meredydh ap Owen, by the chieftains of Strath-Alyn,† by the men of Penllyn, by Gronw ap Heilyn, and by the nobles of Englefield.‡ It was likewise declared by Llewelyn and his council, that if their grievances were redressed, if their native laws and rights were preserved, and if their safety in future might depend upon the tenor of the late treaty, that they were willing to enter into a lasting peace with England.‡

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110. Welsh Chr. p. 338—342.
See Appendix, No. V.

* *Garth Celyn.* † See Appendix, No. VI. ‡ Welsh Chron. p. 340—350.

† *Ystrad Alun.* ‡ See Append. No. VII—XV. Welsh Chr. p. 350—364.

§ Welsh Chron. p. 343, taken from the Records of Canterbury.

There is a force in these recitals, thus arranged and authenticated, expressive of the wretched situation of the Welsh; all of them complaining of injuries, of the violation of treaties, and of the power of the *mighty* over the *weak*.

As soon as Llewelyn and the Welsh chieftains had delivered these memorials, in justification of their revolt, the archbishop returned to the king; and urged that prince to attend to their complaints, and to redress their wrongs; or at least, he desired, that the idea of these complaints being justly founded might in some measure extenuate their faults. The answer returned by the English prince was, that though there was no excuse to be found for their conduct, yet he was still desirous of doing justice to their complaints. Availing himself of an answer, which carried with it the appearance of mildness, the archbishop requested the king that the complainants might have free access to his presence, to unfold their griefs, and to plead their own cause. The reply which Edward made was dark and evasive, and unworthy of so great a prince; he said, "that they might freely come, and depart, if it should appear, that in *justice* they ought to return in safety."

On the strength of this answer, arbitrary as it was, and the deepest danger lurking within it, the archbishop repaired again to Snowdon, to renew the negotiation with the prince of Wales; in hopes of prevailing on him, by proper submission, to avail

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 363, 364

himself of what that prelate conceived to be, or might wish to represent as the gracious disposition of the king.' Llewelyn and his council were not caught in the snare which was laid for their safety. They clearly saw into the designs of the English monarch. They saw, at this moment, all that was dear to men and to citizens at stake; their lives, their families, their country, its liberties and laws, with the customs of their fathers: and they saw, too, that this was the crisis for manly resistance.

IMPRESSED with such sentiments as these, it was not likely that any argument, delusive or friendly, which was in the power of the archbishop to offer, could accomplish his views, or could shake the firmness of Llewelyn and his council. After much conference on the subject, debated with a spirit and seriousness suited to its importance, he was desired by the prince of Wales to return to his sovereign, with this generous and manly declaration; "that, as the guardian of his people's safety, his conscience alone should direct his submission; nor would he consent to any compliance which might derogate from the dignity of his station." We easily conceive that the pride of Edward was wounded, and his indignation excited by a reply, so little expected, though so worthy of a patriot prince. On its being reported to the English king, he declared; "that no other terms should be in future offered to the Welsh, than the entire and unconditional submission of Llewelyn and his people."

^a Welsh Chron. p. 364.

^b Welsh Chron. p. 364.

SENSIBLE that the prince of Wales would never recede from the resolution he had formed, the archbishop of Canterbury interceded with the king, that on a subject of such weighty concern, he might have a conference with those noblemen, who at that time were present in the English army. Edward consented that such a conference should be held; the result of which was, that three separate proposals should be sent to the Welsh princes, and to their council, as the only basis on which any peace could be established.¹

DURING this negotiation, the prince of Wales remained in his palace at Aber; and the Welsh army, it is most probable, was stationed on the heights above upon Penmaen Mawr.²

THE first of these proposals, which was ordered to be read in public, before the two princes and the chieftains assembled in council, signified; that no treaty whatever could take place respecting the island of Anglesey, the four cantreys, and the estates which were already granted by the king to the English lords; that if the tenants of those cantreys should think proper to submit to their sovereign, they should, in that case, be treated in a manner becoming the *majesty* of the king. In respect to Llewelyn, no terms whatever were offered to him; he was to yield himself up without any condition.³

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 364.

² It was considered as the strongest fortification which the Welsh possessed in the mountains of Snowdon, and capable of containing 20,000 men. See Camden's Britan. Gibson's edit. p. 673.

³ See Appendix, No. XVI. Welsh Chron. p. 364, 365.

THE second proposal was to be presented in secret to the prince of Wales, and was no doubt intended as a snare to his honour.¹ It was there proposed, that he should yield himself up to the mercy of Edward, and should quietly relinquish the possession of Snowdon; as a cordial, however, to be thrown into the bitter cup, the English nobility promised to prevail, if possible, with the king, that he should provide for Llewelyn's daughter suitably to her station; that he should allow him one thousand pounds a year, and a respectable county in England. If that prince should marry again, and should have heirs male, they promised to entreat the king, that this annuity, and the said county, should be settled on those heirs for ever; and that the king should also provide for the adherents of the Welsh prince, in a manner suitable to their estates and conditions.²

THE third proposal was intended to seduce or to intimidate David from his duty; and was ordered, that in the like manner, it should be read to that prince in secret.³ If he would consent to take the *Cross*, and to go into the Holy Land, he should have a provision made for him agreeable to his quality; on the condition, however, that he should *never* return from thence unless he should be recalled by the king; and as a farther inducement, the negociators also promised to entreat their sovereign, that he should provide in a suitable manner for his daughter.⁴

THE concessions expected from Llewelyn, the singular requisition made to prince David, and the general submission de-

¹ Appendix, No. XVII. ² Welsh Chron. p. 365. See Appendix, No. XVI.

³ See Appendix, No. XVIII.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 366.

manded from all, were enforced by the terror of ecclesiastical censures; and in case of disobedience, a menace was thrown out, that the Welsh nation should be entirely exterminated. Such were the conditions of peace proposed by an interested nobility; and wanting as they did the sanction of Edward, though immediately formed under his influence, they were mean, perfidious, and arbitrary; or, at least, they carried with them a dark and suspicious aspect.

It was not in the nature of Llewelyn, when the dearest concerns of his people were mingled with his own, to entertain an idea of interest exclusive of theirs, or to engage with the common enemy in any secret intercourse, or partial negotiation. The proposals sent by the archbishop, were openly discussed in the presence of Llewelyn, of his brother David, and of the chieftains who composed his council. The result of which was, that three different memorials should be returned to that prelate, which would declare their sentiments of the terms which had been offered; and would convey to the English monarch their last, solemn, and decisive determination.

In a stile of simplicity which might have carried conviction to the mind, the prince of Wales informed the archbishop; that the terms he had brought, were neither honestly intended, nor could they be safely confided in; that though he himself, through weakness or interest, should be inclined to listen to the separate advantage proposed, his people and all the chieftains in

¹ See Appendix, No. XIX.

Wales, aware of the mischievous tendency, would refuse their consent; as not being bound to yield up their rights to any mean compliance in their prince: He desired likewise, as the means of establishing an honest and durable peace, that the archbishop would have respect to the memorials which were then sent by himself and by his council: He said too, that it would have been more honourable to the king, and more agreeable to reason, if he had been permitted to continue on the land of his fathers, rather than that his territories should be wrested from him, and should be given to foreigners.*

WITH a force of reasoning, resulting from a manly and discerning spirit,† the Welsh chieftains who formed the prince's council, declared; that no peace could be made, unless the four cantrevs were included in the treaty; as they had always belonged to the princes of Wales from the earliest period of their history; and were also confirmed by the sanction of the Pope, and by the treaty with Henry the third. The tenants of those cantrevs likewise declared, that they did not dare to submit to the king; as he had neither kept covenant, nor oath, grant, nor charter, with the prince, nor with his people. Llewelyn's council told the archbishop, that they themselves, for these reasons, were afraid to come into the presence of the king; much less would they suffer their prince to hazard his personal safety: They rejected also the annuity of one thousand pounds, as being offered by men, who were attempting to wrest from Llewelyn his heredi-

* Welsh Chron. p. 368.

† See Appendix, No. XIX.

tary dominions, and which they were desirous of enjoying themselves : They said, that it would neither be consistent with prudence nor his duty, for their sovereign to relinquish his native demesnes, and to accept of other territories in England ; unacquainted as he was with its laws and customs, its language and manners : That he must likewise hold those estates, situated amidst his enemies, on a very precarious tenure : They added, likewise, that it was not probable, that the king, desirous of taking from him his barren inheritance in Wales, would long allow him to enjoy the cultivated land of England : They declared, that they would not suffer their prince to give up to the king the possession of Snowdun, appertaining to his sovereignty from the earliest times, and meanly to accept of what might be thought an equivalent in England : The people of Snowdun, also, declared ; that though Llewelyn should relinquish his own rights, that they themselves would never do homage to foreigners, with whose habits of life they were entirely unacquainted ; lest they should be as cruelly treated as the inhabitants of the four cantrevs had been ; a recital of whose injuries had already been sent to that prelate.* The spirit of a free constitution, in restraining the will of the sovereign, is diffused through the whole of this interesting memorial.

* THERE is something peculiarly touching in the memorial sent by prince David.* He said, that when he felt himself disposed to visit the Holy Land, his motives should be pure and voluntary ;

* Welsh Chron. p. 368, 369. See Appendix, No. XX.

* Appendix, No. XXI.

influenced by a spirit of piety, and not enforced by the arbitrary will of another. Devotion that is forced, he said, is displeasing to God; and, if ever he should undertake such a journey, his posterity should be rather rewarded for their father's piety, than that they should, on that account, have their inheritance taken from them. It was not the Welsh, he said, who were the movers of the war; no lust of avarice, no rage for conquest on their part began it; they had only defended their own country, their liberties and laws, against the avarice, the cruelty, and hatred of the English king and his people. For the truth of which, he solemnly appealed to God; calling on him to avenge their wrongs, and to vindicate their cause. He forbade the archbishop to fulminate his censures against any but those who had been the cause of these enormities; and as the Welsh had suffered such evils at the hands of the king's officers, he hoped that they should receive at *his* hands remedy and comfort. "Very many do marvel," said he, "that *you* do counsel us to leave our own land, and go
" to other men's lands among our enemies to live; for as we
" cannot have peace in our own country, what reason have we
" to hope that we shall remain in quiet in that of our enemies?
" Though it be hard to live in war and danger, it is still more
" hard," said he, "to be utterly destroyed, and be brought to
" nothing. The fear of death, the fear of imprisonment, the
" fear of having our estates torn from us; no keeping of promise,
" covenant, grant, or charter, in short, a most tyrannical do-
" minion, are among the many causes which urge us to war." To the remedy of these evils he desired of the archbishop his pious and charitable aid. He concluded this moving address, by
saying,

saying, " If any person in England offends the king, his estate
 " is not taken away ; if one of our own people should commit
 " a fault, let him be punished agreeably to justice, but not en-
 " tirely to his ruin. As we trust in *you*, we pray you, holy
 " father, to labour to this end. If they lay to our charge that
 " it is we who have broke the peace, it is evidently clear, from
 " facts, that it is they, and not we, that are in fault ; they who
 " never kept promise, or covenant, or order, or made any satis-
 " faction for trespasses, or remedy for our complaints." It is
 with pity and admiration that we see a band of heroes and
 patriots, stationed upon their only mountain, calmly and with
 firmness asserting their rights, and making their last struggle for
 freedom. The scene is solemn and interesting ; and, in many
 points of resemblance, presents the image of Leonidas in the
 Straits of Thermopylæ.

ALL conference was now at an end ; the late negotiation had
 clearly shewn that the sentiments of the two powers were en-
 tirely incompatible. No longer pursuing, in the spirit of benevo-
 lence, the rights of this injured people, the archbishop of Canter-
 bury pronounced them accursed, and thundered against them the
 whole force of ecclesiastical judgments.*

DURING these transactions, the roads being opened, and his
 reinforcements arrived, Edward about the first of November left

* These memorials were taken from the Records of John Pezham archbishop of
 Canterbury, who was Edward's ambassador on this occasion. Welsh Chron. p. 371.

² J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 371.

Rhuddlan,¹ and advanced to Conway; near which town he stationed his army in advantageous situations. His horse were encamped on the plains which lay at the foot of the mountains of Snowdun; with a view of securing the avenues of the country to the east and to the south; and the infantry were posted on the sides of the hills under cover of the woods.² The treaty being ended, and not able to bring the enemy to action, Edward ordered a strong detachment of marines and other forces, in the vessels of the Cinque Ports, to take possession of Anglesey. The manœuvre was wisely planned; the success of which would not only deprive the Welsh of the advantage of that island, as a source of provisions, but would also confine them in narrower limits; and by dividing their attention, would facilitate his entrance into the country. This service was performed with all imaginable success; the island was easily taken; the chief persons in it having supported the interests of Edward, agreeably to the oaths which they had taken at the late peace.³ With a view of obtaining possession of the mountains upon the rear of the enemy, or of forming a junction with the other part of the army, in the very heart of their country; preparations were made to pass the water of Menai, which runs between Anglesey and the coast of Caernarvon.

THERE is a point of land, nearly opposite to Bangor, called Moel-y-donn, where the water is much narrower than in other parts of the Straits. From this place, the English formed a bridge

¹ Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110.

² Polidore Virgil, p. 323 Holinshed, p. 281.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 371. P. Virgil, p. 324. J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

of boats which were chained together, and over which a platform of boards was raised, wide enough for sixty men to march in front.¹ To counteract this design, the Welsh threw up entrenchments, at some distance, on their side of the river; to check the enemies advance, and to secure the passes into their mountains.² Before the bridge was entirely finished, a party of English, attended by the Gascon lords, who, with a body of Spanish troops, were then in the service of Edward; despising the Welsh for the easy conquest of Anglesey, passed over the Menai at low water, with a considerable force; to reconnoitre their works, or to give a display of their own valour. Richard ap Walwyn, who commanded in these posts, knowing that the tide would soon flow, and cut off the enemies retreat to the bridge, remained quiet within his entrenchments; and neither opposed their passage, nor molested their advance up into the country.³ As soon as the Menai had risen so high, as to prevent any communication with the island, the Welsh in great multitudes rushed down from the mountains; assaulted the enemy with loud outcries, and pursued them with great slaughter into the water; in which many were drowned, encumbered with the weight of their armour. Fifteen knights, thirty-two esquires, and one thousand common soldiers were slain, or perished in the Menai. Among others who fell in this day's disaster, were Lucas de Taney the leader of the foreign troops, William de Dodingeseles, and Wil-

¹ Welsh Chr. p. 372. Holinhead, p. 281. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

² Carte, vol. I. p. 193.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 372. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi.

liam de la Zouch. The lord Latimer, who commanded the English in this detachment, had the good fortune to recover the bridge by the stoutness of his horse.¹

THIS disaster was a severe check to the views of Edward. His situation was now become critical, humiliating, and dangerous: Besides the loss he had sustained, the winter was in advance: his two armies could have no communication by land; the design, likewise, of a diversion was rendered impracticable. The Welsh, high in spirits, and masters of the defiles, were strongly entrenched on their mountains; the castle of Snowdon was filled with soldiers, and furnished with plenty of provisions;² and they had seen, too, that even Edward and his foreign troops, with all their stratagems of war, were not invincible. This success they regarded as a presage of future prosperity. Their hopes began to revive, and their views to extend; which were heightened still more by a prophecy of Merlin, long cherished among the Welsh; that Llewelyn should one day wield the sceptre of Brutus, the supposed founder of their empire.³ It is possible, too, that the Welsh prince, himself, might indulge the same hopes, from a like delusive source, the prediction of a soothsayer. When he first began the revolt, he consulted an aged woman, who was

¹ Holinhead, p. 281, says that only two hundred foot soldiers perished. Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 896, from Liber Petruburgi. Welsh Chron. p. 372. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2464. Matth. Westm. p. 176.

² Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Grafton's Chron. p. 165.

³ Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9. Matth. Westm. p. 176. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235.

a reputed prophetess, respecting the issue of the war; who advised him to pursue the enterprise with spirit, and assured him also, that in the event he would ride through Cheapside in London with a crown upon his head.'

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IN this state of things, unable to advance, and too proud to relinquish the design, Edward retired to Rhuddlan.* From this place, on the twenty-fourth of November, he issued out summonses to the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the following effect. "Whereas Llewelyn, the son of Gryffyth, and other
 "Welshmen his accomplices, our enemies and rebels, have so
 "often, in the times of us and our progenitors, disturbed the
 "peace of England, and do still continue in the same course;
 "and for that, by the advice of our great men, and the whole
 "community of the land, we propound finally to repress their
 "rebellion and instability, so as it shall not be in their power
 "to disturb the peace of the nation when they please, although
 "that it seems to be a very great charge, and a most difficult
 "undertaking: We therefore command that you cause to come
 "before us on the twentieth of January, at Northampton, or
 "before our commissioners, all those of your bailiwick that have
 "twenty pounds a year, and upwards, who are able and fit to
 "bear arms, and who are not present with us, in our expedition against the Welsh; and four knights of each county,
 "for the community of the same counties, having full power
 "from them; and also of every city, borough, and market town,
 "two men for the commons of the same; to hear and do

* Holinshed, p. 282.

* Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

things,

“ things, which, on our behalf, we shall cause to be shewn unto them.” The like precept was sent to the sheriff of every county in England; with this difference only, that the people, so ordered by the writs of the counties of York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaster, were to assemble at York. The clergy and prelates of England were also required to perform their services, in carrying on this necessary war.¹ The nature of these precepts, and the warlike appointments so extensive, mark the eager spirit of Edward, as well as the idea which that prince entertained of the difficulty and importance of the enterprise. But an event happened soon after, sudden and unforeseen, which closed with glory the life of Llewelyn, and decided the fate of the Welsh nation.

THE earl of Gloucester, assisted by Sir Edmund Mortimer, had been sent with an army into South Wales, to reduce that country; and to check the depredations of Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffyd ap Meredydh, the two chiefs who had taken up arms in favour of Llewelyn, and had ravaged the present counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. These chieftains, a little time before, had been defeated by the earl of Gloucester, near to Llandeilo-Vawr, with the loss only on the enemies part, in persons of note, of five knights, and of William de Valence, cousin to the English monarch.²

¹ Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

² J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 372. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brwy. p. 60.

THE late success of the Welsh, in the action of the Menai, had set on fire their enthusiastic spirit; they considered it as a miracle which had been wrought in their favour. Confident, on the faith of the ancient prophecies, that in the person of Llewelyn, the empire of their fathers would be restored; they urged that prince to act with intrepidity, to seize this fortunate moment, and to assault the English in their turn, separated and dispirited by the loss which they had lately sustained.¹ Llewelyn thought this an enterprise of too much importance, to engage in it without farther reinforcements; which he was not without hopes of receiving, as he had entered into a large correspondence with many of Edward's subjects in the marches, and in South Wales.² In hopes, by these means, of drawing together a great body of troops, to enable him to strike so decisive a blow; or by his presence to re-animate his party, he determined to go into South Wales. Thinking the quarter of Snowdon safe for the winter, he left his brother David to guard the passes of those mountains; and the prince of Wales himself, with a body of forces, marched to the aid of his adherents who favoured his cause in that country;³ where, having overrun the territories of Caerdigan and Strath-Towi, he ravaged the estates of Rhys ap Meredydh.⁴

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 176. P. Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9.

² Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 897.

³ Ibid. Annal. Waverleiensis, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Matth. Westm. p. 176.

⁴ J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. 373.

THE king, having intelligence of the sudden movement of the Welsh prince, dispatched orders to Oliver de Dineham, and other noblemen in the west, to pass over the mouth of the Severn to Caermarthen, and to give their support to his generals in that country.¹

LLEWELYN, having so far succeeded in his enterprise, proceeded with his forces to the cantrev of Buellt; where, by agreement, he was to hold a conference with some of the lords of that district.² As he had not any thing to fear from the southern quarter, his only anxiety was to secure the principal pass into the country, that no danger might arise from the north. With this design, having posted the main part of his army on the summit of a mountain, near the river Wye; he stationed a body of troops at a bridge, called Pont Orewyn, which commanded the passage over that river.³ Having thus secured himself, as he thought, from the sudden attack of any enemy; the prince of Wales, unarmed, and attended by his esquire alone, proceeded into the valley, where it had been agreed upon that the conference should be held.⁴ There is every reason to suppose that the design was betrayed by the very lords whom Llewelyn had appointed to meet.⁵ In a moment after his departure, the bridge was attacked by John Gifford, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, at the head of a body of men who were natives of Buellt; the latter nobleman, or his father, being lord of

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 223.

² Welsh Chron. p. 373.

³ Holinshed, p. 281.

⁴ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

⁵ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 59. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

that country.¹ The post was maintained with such spirit by the Welsh, that the English lords were not able to make any impression, until Helias Walwyn, who was probably a native of the country, decided the contest; by pointing out to the enemy a passage through the river, though somewhat dangerous, which lay below, at a little distance from the bridge.² A detachment was sent under the conduct of Walwyn, to ford the river; and with some difficulty they made good their passage. Assaulted in the front and rear, the Welsh relinquished their post; and the remainder of the English army passed over the bridge.³

THE prince of Wales, all this time, was waiting in a small grove, the place which had been appointed for the meeting of those chieftains, with whom he was to hold the conference. On the enemies first assault, his esquire came to inform him that he heard a great outcry at the bridge. The Welsh prince enquired with eagerness if his soldiers were in possession of that post; and being informed that they were, he calmly replied, “ he then “ would not stir from thence, though the whole power of “ England was on the other side of the river.” This confidence, not improperly placed, lasted only for a moment; the grove being in an instant surrounded by the enemies horse.⁴ Beset on every side, and cut off from his army, Llewelyn endeavoured, as secretly as he could, to make good his retreat, and to join the troops which he had stationed on the mountain;

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 373.

² Holinhead, p. 281. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 374.

who, drawn up in battle array, were eagerly expecting the return of their prince. In making this attempt, he was discovered, and closely pursued by Adam de Francton, an English knight; who, perceiving him to be a Welshman, and not knowing his quality, plunged his spear into the body of the prince of Wales, being unarmed and incapable of defence.¹ This being done, regardless of the person he had wounded, Adam de Francton instantly joined his own army, which was then ascending the mountain to dislodge the enemy from their post.² The Welsh, on this occasion, were steady, and acted with great spirit; neither animated by the presence of their prince, nor dispirited by a knowledge of his fate. They poured upon their enemies, as they advanced up the mountain, a shower of arrows and darts; but the English, having placed bodies of archers in the intervals of their horse, annoyed them in their turn, and at length obtained the summit.³ The action continued doubtful for more than three hours, and was maintained on both sides with great resolution and valour,⁴ until at length the Welsh were obliged to give way, were entirely defeated, and left two thousand men,⁵ a third of their number, dead on the field. This action happened on the tenth of December.⁶

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¹ Henry de Knyghton, p. 2464. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 60. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinhead, p. 281.

² Ibid.

³ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinhead, p. 281.

⁴ Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

⁵ Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 194, from Chron. Dunstable.

⁶ Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

ALL this time Llewelyn had lain upon the ground, faint and almost expiring. He had just life enough remaining to ask for a priest; and a white friar, who chanced to be present, administered to the dying prince the last sacred duties of his office.¹

THE hurry of the action having ceased, Adam de Francton, now at leisure, returned into the valley to strip the person he had wounded. On viewing the body, which was still breathing, it was found, to the great joy of the English army, that the dying person was no other than the prince of Wales.² Upon

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

² Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 897. Welsh Chron. p. 374.—The following is the account preserved by tradition amongst the inhabitants of Buellt respecting this event. Llewelyn had posted his army on a hill near Mochryd, a village about three miles below Buellt, on the south side of the Wye. On the north side of the river, two miles below Buellt, the prince had a house called Aberedwy, to which he came for the purpose of conferring with some chieftains of the country. During his stay there, he was alarmed with the approach of some English troops, who probably had intelligence of his situation. The prince, to extricate himself from the danger that threatened him, caused his horse's shoes to be reversed, to deceive his pursuers, as the snow was on the ground: but this circumstance was made known to the enemy, through the treachery of the smith; and they followed so closely, that Llewelyn had but just time to pass the draw-bridge at Buellt, which being drawn up secured his retreat. In the mean time, the English troops posted at Aberedwy, had information of a ford a little lower down, called *Cefn Tŷm Bach*, which they crossed, and by that means came between Llewelyn and his army stationed at Mochryd. The only means of safety that now offered was to secrete himself. But the enemy were so diligent in the pursuit, that the Welsh prince was soon discovered in a narrow dingle, in which he had concealed himself, three miles north of Buellt, and about five miles from his army; and which place, from this event, was called *Cwm Llewelyn*. After Llewelyn was killed, they cut off his head, and buried his body near the spot; and at some subsequent period a house was erected over his grave, which is called *Cefn-y-Bedd*, or the top of the grave.

stripping

stripping Llewelyn, there were found in his trousers his privy seal, and a paper that was filled with dark expressions, and a list of names which were written in a kind of cypher; a letter or two was discovered at the same time, all of which evidently proved he had engaged in a confederacy with several lords, who were Edward's subjects in the marches.¹ A transcript of these was sent by Sir Edmund Mortimer to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was then in Pembrokehire; and who transmitted them immediately to the king, as a necessary precaution to guard against their designs. But that prince thought it not prudent to make any farther inquiries; being desirous of not adding to a flame, which he thought must now die away of itself.² No sooner had Llewelyn expired, than his head was cut off by Adam de Francton; and, as a gift of high value, was presented to the king, who at this time resided in the abbey of Conway.³ The body of the prince of Wales lay unburied for some time; though his friends were very solicitous that it might be interred in consecrated ground. The lady Matilda Longespee also, among others, interested herself for a decent interment. This indulgence, small as it was, was not allowed; until the dead body of the Welsh prince had received absolution from the archbishop of Canterbury, under the pretext that he had shewn signs of penitence, by having desired the assistance of a priest in his last moments.⁴

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

² Ibid.

³ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

⁴ Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

THUS

THUS died Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, after a reign of thirty-six years, leaving only one daughter.* The historians of the times are silent respecting the character, or the personal qualities of this prince. But the conduct of his life was the best illustration of his character. And if the valour of Llewelyn, his talents, and his patriotism, had been exerted upon a more splendid theatre, on the plains of Marathon, or in the Straits of Thermopylæ, his name would have been recorded in the classic page, and his memory revered, as an illustrious hero, and as a gallant assertor of the rights of nature. But no trophies have been raised to celebrate his fame. The vindictive spirit or policy of his conqueror, found an interest in burying amidst the ruins of freedom, almost every trace, or monumental record, which might preserve the memory of this prince, or perpetuate his glory. Gratitude, however, could pay no tribute so expressive, as the tears which his country poured upon the tomb of their fallen sovereign. An elegy composed by a Bard who lived in his court, in wild and in plaintive notes, and with a seemingly prophetic spirit, finely expresses their sorrow and despair. "The voice

* It appears, that the daughter of Llewelyn, and the daughter of his brother David, were confined in a nunnery in England; as an order was sent by Edward, seven years after the death of their parents, to Thomas de Normanville, to enquire minutely into the state and safe custody of the said princesses. Rymer, vol. II. p. 429. This daughter of Llewelyn, and of Eleanor de Montford, called Catherine Lackland, was sent by Edward, attended by her nurse, to be educated in England. She was afterwards married to Malcolm earl of Fife. Llewelyn is also said to have had a son of the name of Madoe; but he must certainly have been illegitimate, as that prince had been only once married. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310. It is most probable, that David's daughter remained in England, and died a nun.

“ of lamentation is heard in every place, as heretofore in
 “ Camlan.’—The copious tears stream down every cheek ; f o
 “ Cambria’s defence, Cambria’s munificent lord is fallen.—Oh
 “ Llewelyn, the loss of *thee* is the loss of all.—At the thought
 “ of *thee* horror chills my blood, exhausts my spirits, and con-
 “ fumes my flesh.—Behold how the course of nature is changed !
 “ How the trees of the forest furiously rush against each other !
 “ —See how the ocean deluges the earth ! How the sun deviates
 “ from his course ! How the planets start from their orbits !—
 “ Say, ye thoughtless mortals, do not these things portend the
 “ dissolution of nature ?—And let it be dissolved.—Let kind
 “ heaven hasten the grand catastrophe.—Let a speedy end be put
 “ to the incurable anguish of our spirits : since now there is no
 “ place to which we, miserable men, may flee : no spot where we
 “ can securely dwell : no friendly counsel : no safe retreat : no
 “ way by which we can escape our unhappy destiny.”¹

¹ The place where the great Arthur was slain.

² Gryffyd ap yr Ynad Côch wrote the poem from which this passage is extracted ; and if it were possible for a translation to transfuse half the excellence of the original, it would shew that the Bard was equally inspired with the true spirit of poetry, as affected by the fate of his beloved prince.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAVID AP GRYFFYDH TO THE
ENTIRE CONQUEST OF WALES, AND THE FINAL DEPARTURE
OF EDWARD OUT OF THAT COUNTRY.

THE closing scene of the last book presented an interesting spectacle. We there saw a gallant and a patriot prince, after many efforts to preserve the freedom of his country, falling in the conflict, and finding an honourable grave in its ruins.

As soon as the head of Llewelyn was brought by Adam de Francton to the English king, that prince sent it to London; and that he might feast the eyes of his subjects with a novel and a savage spectacle, it was ornamented with a silver circle,¹ and placed upon the pillory² in Cheapside; in ridicule of the prophecy of Merlin, that Llewelyn would one day wear the crown of Brutus. In contempt also of the late prediction of the soothsayer, that this prince would ride through Cheapside crowned with a

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¹ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464.

² Guthrie, vol. I. p. 897.

silver diadem,' his head was encircled with a wreath of ivy ;¹ and, being fixed on the point of a spear, was carried through the streets by a horseman ; it was then placed upon the highest turret in the Tower of London, where it continued for a long time.' To insult the remains of a fallen enemy, and a sovereign prince, by devices which were mean and vindictive, and more suited to the leader of a tribe of Arabs than a great monarch, denotes a mind in Edward insensible of true greatness, and a spirit little softened by civilized manners.*

THE late prince, as the central spring, had drawn into one point the strength of the nation, had directed its movements, and had given them force and energy ; but the spring being broken, all the parts became disunited, without motion, spirit, or efficacy. There is a kind of palsy which for a moment seizes upon the mind, when the hand of affliction strikes deep, and the blow comes unexpected. Before the Welsh had time to emerge out of that state of insensibility into which they had sunk on the death of Llewelyn, the king of England ordered his forces to make a farther advance, and to surround them more closely. His own army invested Snowdon on the side of Conway ;⁴ his troops in Anglesey, not having hitherto dared to make good their passage over the Menai, had now leisure to finish the bridge,

¹ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. ² Matt. West. p. 176. ³ Holinhead, p. 281.

* This stricture is not designed to be applied in general to the character of Edward ; it is only intended to mark, and with merited justice, the animosity and revengeful spirit, with which, to the last, he pursued the gallant but unfortunate Llewelyn.

⁴ Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinhead, p. 282.

and

and to penetrate the country on the side of Caernarvon ;¹ a body of forces, also, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, completed the investiture on the quarter towards South Wales.*

DAVID, all this time, in possession of the castles and strong holds of the country, not chusing to risque a general engagement, remained quiet within his posts. Regarding himself as the sovereign of North Wales, on the death of his brother, he summoned the Welsh chieftains, his subjects, to meet him at Denbigh ;² where he intended to hold a consultation, on the common interests of his country, at this dangerous crisis. He afterwards renewed hostilities against the English, and appeared fully determined to vindicate his rights.³ There was a fortress, called the castle of Bere, very strong by art and nature, and which was situated in Snowdon, in the midst of a morass ; was accessible only by a single causeway, and not to be approached but through narrow and rugged defiles. This fortress David had provided with a strong garrison.⁴ But so sunk in despair were the Welsh, as if all hopes of retrieving their fortunes had died with Llewelyn, that even this castle was surrendered to the king, after it had been closely invested for some time.⁵ No farther resistance was made ; every other fortress was immediately yielded

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¹ Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 59. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

² Carte, vol. II. p. 194. from Chr. Dunstaple, Ann. Cestrensis.

* *Dinbech*, the present town of Denbigh.

³ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

⁴ This fortress was probably the castle which is situated near the Lake of Llan-Bere, the ruins of which still remain, and is called Castell Dolbadarn. Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

⁵ Holinshed, p. 282.

up.¹ The Welsh, confounded and in dismay, fled on every side, to shelter themselves in caves, within the recesses of rocks, and in the deep woods of their country.²

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THE passes being now left unguarded, Edward stationed his horse at the foot of the hills; and leaving in each defile a body of troops to cut off the enemy as they attempted to escape, he himself, with the remainder of his army, penetrated the recesses of the mountains. In this service he was much assisted by the foreign troops in his army;³ who, having been accustomed to serve in a mountainous country, advanced with greater facility, set fire to the houses, and slew great numbers of the Welsh, discovered in the secret recesses of the country, or flying to such places for concealment.⁴

THE people who inhabited the Snowdon mountains being now entirely subdued, Edward collected his scattered army, and spread over the more level parts of the country, of which he easily made himself master; and the miserable natives, in despair and unresisting, were slaughtered without mercy. More than three thousand perished in the carnage.⁵ Prince David, unable to make any resistance, was carried along the torrent which overwhelmed his country; and he was obliged to conceal himself and his family

¹ J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Matth. Westm. p. 176. Carte, p. 194, from Chr. Dunstable, and Annales Cestrensis, p. 282.

² Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshed, p. 282. ³ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464.

⁴ Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshed, p. 282.

⁵ Holinshed, p. 282. Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

in woods and marshes, and in other places of security.¹ He remained some months in this situation, almost famished through the want of provisions; during which time, urged by strong necessity, he frequently issued out to make depredations.²

IN this state of consternation, all union having been dissolved by the conquest of their country, the Welsh no longer resisted the incitements which were offered to private advantage, or to personal safety. It was therefore an easy matter for Edward to corrupt some of David's retainers. These are supposed to be Eineon ap Ivor, and Gronw ap David, with their sons; who, in the night of the twenty-first of June, surprised the Welsh prince and his family in a morass, into which they had fled for security.³ The unfortunate David and his wife, his two sons and seven daughters,⁴ were brought prisoners to Rhuddlan castle, where the king then resided.⁵ When that prince was taken, a relic was found upon him, called the *Croffeneych*,⁶ supposed to be a part of the real *Cross*, highly venerated by the princes of Wales; and which was delivered to the king, with other relics,

¹ Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

² Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238. Carte, from Annales Cestrenfis. Chron. Dunstable, p. 104.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 247. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238. Thomas Wyke, p. 111.

⁴ It is probable that all these children were illegitimate, excepting one daughter.

⁵ Matth. Westm. p. 177. T. Wyke's Chron. p. 112, says only his wife and two sons. Holinshed, p. 282.

⁶ This relic, St. Neots had brought into Wales from the Holy Land, and was voluntarily delivered up to the king by a secretary of the late prince of Wales. J. Ross, Ant. Warw. p. 204.

by one of the above-mentioned chieftains.¹ David requested that he might be admitted into the king's presence. This indulgence was denied him.² Inflexible in the design he meditated, Edward refused his repeated solicitations; unwilling that his own firmness should be put to the test, which the recollection of former intercourse might soften; or afraid lest he might be melted into pity, and in consequence his justice be disarmed, by an interview with a captive prince, who had fallen in the noblest cause, in the defence of the rights of his country.

THE Welsh prince was confined a close prisoner in Rhuddlan castle, and soon after sent in chains to Shrewsbury.³ On the captivity of David, Rhys Vychan, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, surrendered himself and his followers to the earl of Hereford, who delivered them up to the king; by whose orders Rhys was sent to London, and loaded with chains, was imprisoned in the Tower.⁴ All the other Welsh chieftains, following his example, yielded up their castles, and submitted to the English king.⁵ One victim remained to feel the weight of Edward's severest vengeance.

As David had been made a baron of the realm, Edward determined to proceed against him as a subject of England. With

¹ Besides the above relic, the crown of the celebrated king Arthur, with many precious jewels, were about this time presented to Edward. See *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238. Rymer, vol. II. p. 247.

² J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

³ J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

⁴ Wyke, p. 111. *Welsh Chron.* p. 374.

⁵ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. J. Roffi. p. 166.

this view, he summoned eleven earls and one hundred barons, to open the process at Shrewsbury on the thirtieth of September, and to sit in judgment at his trial; the king himself presiding in person.¹ By this court the prince of Wales was doomed to die as a traitor;² a sense of interest, and the desire of pleasing their sovereign, influenced the decision of the judges, and silenced the claims of justice and humanity. There was something singular in the sentence pronounced against him by John de Vaus³ the chief justice of England. He was condemned to five different kinds of punishment. To be drawn at the tails of horses through the streets of Shrewsbury to the place of execution, because he was a traitor to the king, who had made him a knight. To be hanged, for having murdered Fulk Trigald, and other knights in the castle of Hawarden. His heart and bowels to be burned, because those murders had been perpetrated on Palm Sunday. His head to be cut off. His body to be quartered, and to be hung up in four different parts of the kingdom;⁴ because he had conspired the death of the king in several places of England.⁵ This sentence, cruel in the extreme, the rigour of which had refined into novelty, was executed in all its severity. Such was the pleasure which the death of David gave to the English, that the citizens of York and Winchester contended, with a savage eagerness, for the

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 247, 248. Matth. Westm. p. 177. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238.

² Wyke, p. 111. Matth. Westm. p. 177. J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

³ Guth. Hist. England, p. 898. ⁴ See Annales Waverleienfis, p. 238.

⁵ Carte, p. 195. from Chron. Dunstaple.

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right shoulder of this unfortunate prince. That honour was decided in favour of Winchester; and the remaining quarters were sent, with the utmost dispatch, to the cities of York and Bristol, and to the town of Northampton.¹ To feast still more the eyes of the people, his head was sent to the tower of London, and being fixed on a pole, was placed near to the head of his brother Llewelyn.² Every generous idea, and liberal sentiment, seem to have been extinguished in national hatred, and in the frenzy of joy which had seized on the English.

THE death of David closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire; an empire, which through various changes of fortune, had opposed the arms of imperial Rome; and, for more than eight hundred years, had resisted the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

THE fall of nations, distinguished only by misfortunes, or only illustrious for conquests, may raise for a moment a sigh of pity, or the transient effusions of applause. But a people like the Welsh, satisfied with their mountains, who had been forced into a long and unequal contest, in defence of their native rights, with few other resources than their valour and a fond attachment to their liberties, though falling in the ruins of their country, will have a claim on the esteem, and excite

¹ *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

² *Matth. Westm.* p. 177. *T. Wyke*, p. 111. *J. Roffi*, p. 166. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

the admiration of the world, as long as manly sentiment and freedom shall remain.

BUT, in reflecting on the history of this nation, with a just and discriminating spirit, we have been frequently led to survey its manners and national character, with the opposite emotions of pleasure and disgust. We are not, however, to estimate that character, too nicely, by the standard of civilized judgement. It is true, there were traits in the genius of that people, marking in their manners the deepest ferocity; it is true, that caprice and levity and the spirit of discord, too often decided in their councils, and governed their conduct; and it is also true, that striking defects may be traced in their policy and laws, ruinous to themselves, and disgraceful to a less cultivated period. But the vices of an uncivilized people, are in some degree softened, and even balanced by their virtues. A spirit unsubdued by danger and misfortunes, hospitable manners and eager friendships, a high relish for the arts of music and of poetry, with a principle of justice inherent in their laws, are qualities to be thrown into the opposite scale. And no doubt the influence of these, blending the lighter with the darker shades, softened the asperity of ruder features, and tempered into a milder mass the colouring of the whole. But the spirit of freedom and an ardent love of their country, were the distinguishing traits in their character. These were the animating springs of their genius, and enabled that people to sustain, through a long succession of ages, the most striking reverses of fortune; and it is

the collision of such vicissitudes, by calling into exertion public virtue and heroism, which gives dignity to the character of man, and constitutes the true glory of a nation.

EDWARD having at length obtained the point of his ambition, by the entire conquest of Wales, annexed that country to the crown of England. As the leading principle in the politics of Edward, we have seen him pursue this object, with that vehemency of spirit, and unremitting ardour, which so highly distinguished his character. The features of the English monarch, we confess, have hitherto appeared harsh, severe, and disgusting ; but then, we have only seen them at the moment, when they were inflamed with anger, or roughened by opposition. The contest being ended, and the Welsh no longer resisting his power, the violence of his spirit began to subside ; and, except a few starts into natural fierceness, we shall see him in future, with a milder influence, bringing into action the great talents which he really possessed.

To secure the obedience of the newly subdued country, and to fix its government upon the solid basis of equal laws, and the participation of common rights, Edward at this time introduced

duced into Wales the whole system of English jurisprudence.¹ He divided North Wales into counties; he appointed sheriffs, coroners, and other officers in each; the county courts to be held once a month, and those of the sheriffs twice in the year; he settled also the forms of writs, with the methods to be used in law proceedings, which were to be carried on and decided within the principality; it being expressly provided that the Welsh should not be sued for debts and trespasses in any town of England.² With this design, Edward took up his residence at the castle of Rhuddlan, where he instituted a body of laws under the title of the Statute of Rhuddlan.³ From hence he issued out a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Wales, that he would receive them under his protection; giving them assurances, at the same time, of enjoying their estates, their liberties, and properties; and that they should also hold them under the same tenures as they had heretofore held them under their native princes.⁴ This liberal offer was carried into immediate execution. The king of England, with much moderation

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1284.

¹ Brady, vol. II. p. 11. Matth. Westm. p. 177.

² Baker's Chron. p. 101. J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

³ *Leges Wallie*, p. 531—536. Appendix.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 542. Welsh Chron. p. 376.

⁵ See Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 33. This valuable memoir, besides being the history of a private family, not only deduces with greater accuracy the pedigrees of several of their princes, but, likewise, illustrates the manners of the Welsh, as well as the miserable situation of that people, during the dark period which succeeded the conquest. This work was written by Sir John Wynne of Gwedir, a native of Meirioneth, and descended from the Royal House of North Wales. The world is indebted for its publication, and the ingenious notes annexed to the work, to the learned and judicious antiquary, the Hon. Daines Barrington.

and

and wisdom, reserving to himself only the same rents, duties, and services, which had always belonged to the princes of Wales. Inquisitions were made into these rights by an order of the king; their particular nature was ascertained, and determined by the verdicts of juries who were composed entirely of Welshmen. The rents which had been heretofore paid by the inhabitants of Anglesey were much reduced in consequence; as they had formerly yielded one thousand marks annually to Llewelyn, but afterwards only paid four hundred and fifty pounds a year to the English princes.¹

THE country being thus subdued, as a check to any future incursions of the Welsh, Edward erected the castle of Conway,² on the site of the ancient monastery; the religious of which, a society of white monks, he removed to an abbey which he founded at Maenan near Llanrwst; and whom he afterwards transplanted to Vale Royal in Cheshire, where he built an abbey of the Cistercian order.³

THE archbishop of Canterbury also came at this time into Wales, with a view of conciliating the minds of the Welsh clergy; by redressing their grievances, and by repairing the churches which had been damaged in the disorder of the late times.⁴

¹ Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 196.

² Matth. Westm. p. 177.

³ Holinhead, p. 282.

⁴ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

THE English king had already built a strong fortress at Conway; and as a farther check to insurrections which might arise in the quarter of Snowdon, he erected the castle of Caernarvon; supplying each of those fortresses with suitable garrisons.* With the same view of curbing the Welsh, and as a reward to the English nobility who had served him in the war, he now gave the lordship of Denbigh, or he might confirm what he had formerly granted, to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln; and the lordship of Ruthin to the lord Reginald de Grey; he gave estates, likewise, to many of the other English barons.† He erected Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwyth, and other towns into corporations; granting them great privileges, to encourage trade, and to allure the Welsh from their mountains and wild habits, into a more sociable manner of living. He would likewise have removed the See of St. Asaph to Rhuddlan, if he could have obtained the Pope's consent.‡

THE sudden introduction of English customs into Wales, though softened by lenient measures and directed by a liberal spirit, was not likely to suit the inclinations of a people, who were sore with injuries, and highly incensed at the late transactions. An event followed soon after, which had no tendency to soothe the spirits of the Welsh, or to conciliate their affections.

* Heni de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

† Welsh Chron. p. 377.

‡ Carte, vol. I. p. 196.

AMONG other causes of that ardent spirit, with which this people had so long maintained their independence, the English king must have known that their Bards had been the principal springs of action. To silence that voice which might revive ancient ideas, and rekindle in the Welsh their love of freedom and native fire; Edward commanded that all the bards in Wales should be hanged by martial law, under pretence that they had incited the people to sedition. This edict, more cruel than the proscriptions of the Roman triumvirate, continued in all its rigour to the end of the reign of Henry the fourth; during which period, interest and hatred conspiring its ruin, this ancient and celebrated *Order* was nearly exterminated.* In this transaction, however, no claim to originality is due to Edward. Philip of Macedon, when treating with the Athenian state, demanded as a condition of peace, that all the orators, the promoters of the war, should be delivered into his hands. An impartial recital of events, however it may fally the fame of an illustrious character, is a justice which we owe to truth, and to the manes of an injured people.

IT may not be improper, at this period of their decline, to open to the reader a short history of the Bards; a race of men, who possessed, for many ages, so great an influence over the

* Statutes at large, 4 Henry IV. Cap. 27. * Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 62.

genius of the Welsh nation; inspiring them with hospitable manners, and with the sentiments of freedom and of glory.

THE bards derived their origin from remote antiquity, and were ever held in high estimation. Mankind have been early led to poetical compositions. Agreeable sounds would strike at first every ear, but poetry was necessary to give those sounds a lasting effect. Verse was made use of to preserve the memory of remarkable events and great actions. The religious ceremonies of nations, their manners, and rural labours, were also recorded in numbers. Hence it was that Greece could boast of a Homer, a Hesiod, and of many other poets, several ages before an historian had written in prose. Among the Gauls also, and other Celtic nations, there were poems composed on various subjects from the earliest ages.¹

It is difficult to fix the etymology of the name *beirdd*, unless derived from *bâr*, which signifies *fury*; and, no doubt, has some analogy to that poetic fury, or enthusiasm, with which the poets fancied themselves, or might feign to be inspired.² Diodorus Siculus is the first author among the ancients, who makes mention of the bards, as composers of verses; which they sung to the harp and other instruments of music; celebrating the praises of heroes, or chastising vicious characters with satirical invectives.³ Ammianus Marcellinus says, it was the province of the bards

¹ Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 384.

² Richard's Welsh Dictionary, from Festus. Baxter's Glossary, p. 34. Evan Evans
Dissertatio de Bardis.

³ Ibid.

to sing, in heroic verse set to musical notes of the harp, the achievements of illustrious men. There is a passage of Pseudo-ninus, cited by Athenæus, which describes the Celtic princes going to war, having bards in their train; who celebrated the praises of their chieftains in verse, which they sung to the people.*

GREAT respect was paid by all the northern nations to their bards; as they not only published their renown to the world, but consigned their fame to posterity. It is said, that this Order of men were never guilty of flattery, and never lavished their praises on heroes, nor even on kings themselves, unless deserved by their gallant exploits.†

THOUGH the Order of the bards was common to the Celtic nations, no vestige of them remains but among the Welsh, the Irish, and the descendants of the ancient Caledonians.

ON the invasion of the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, and on the decline of the British empire, many poetical compositions were destroyed, with other ancient records; hence the writings of the bards, and those of the early historians are exceedingly scarce. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of prince Mervyn, is the first of the British historians, who mentions the bards. He says, that Talhaiarn was famous for poetry; that Aneurin, and Taliesin, Llywarch-hen and Chian, flourished in the sixth century. Of these bards, the works only

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis. J. Lelandi Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 5.

† Mallet, vol. i. p. 384.

of three are extant; those of Aneurin, of Taliesin, and Llywarch-hen.¹ The writings of the other bards being lost, we can only bring Nennius as an evidence in their praise; who asserts, that the bards of his age were men of excellent genius.² The poems which are extant contain many things deserving of notice, and throw a great light upon the historical events of that age. At the same time they are difficult to be understood, owing in part to the carelessness of transcribers, and in part to the language itself, become obsolete from its very great antiquity. Aneurin, to whom his country gave the honourable distinction of *Mychdeirn-Beirdb*, or monarch of the bards, in a poem entitled Gododin, relates that he had been engaged in a battle against the Saxons. Taliesin, called likewise *Pen-Beirdb*, or the prince of the bards, resided at the courts of Maelgwyn Gwynedh, and Urien Reged prince of Cumberland.³ Llywarch-hen, or the aged, who was kinsman to the last mentioned prince, had been himself a sovereign in a part of Cumbria, and had passed his youthful days in the court of king Arthur.⁴ There are extant some manuscript poems of his, wherein he recites that he was driven by the Saxons into Powys; that he had twenty-four sons, all of whom were distinguished by golden torques, and that they all died in defence of their country. Besides those already mentioned, there were other bards who flourished during this period; the most eminent of whom was Merddin Wyllt, who composed a poem called *Afallenau*, or the Orchard.⁵

¹ Evans Dissertatio de Bardis. ² J. Lelandi Comment. de Script: Britan. p. 4.

³ Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

⁴ Musical and Poetical Relics, by Jones, p. 6. ⁵ Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

FROM the sixth to the tenth century it is difficult to meet with any of the writings of the bards, owing, it is probable, to the devastations of war, and to the civil dissensions among the Welsh.

SUCH was the respect in which the bards were held; that it was enacted by a law of Howel Dha, that whoever should strike any one of this *Order*, must compound for the offence, by paying to the party aggrieved one fourth more than was necessary to be paid to any other person of the same degree. The election of the bards was made every year, in an assembly of the chieftains and princes of the country; in which they were assigned precedence, and emolument suitable to their merit; but the bard most highly distinguished for his talents was solemnly chaired, and had likewise a badge given him of a silver chair.¹ This congress of the bards was usually held at the three royal residences of the princes of Wales; the sovereign himself presiding in that assembly.²

THERE were three different classes of this order in Wales. The first was called *Beirdd*, and were the composers of verses and odes in various measures; it was necessary that these should possess a genius for poetry, and also that their genius should be tinged with a high degree of enthusiasm. They were likewise the recorders of the arms of the Welsh chieftains, and the repositories also of the genealogies of families. This class was ac-

¹ Evan Evans *Dissertation de Bardis*.

² Jones's *Musical Remains*, p. 14.

counted the most honourable, and was high in the public estimation. The second class, called *Minstrels*, were performers upon instruments, chiefly the harp and the *crwth*.¹ The third were those who sung to musical instruments in general, and were called *Datgeiniad*.²

IN the reign of Gryffyth ap Cynan, a law was enacted to ascertain the privileges of the minstrels and bards, and to restrain their licentious manners. This statute prescribed the emoluments each was to receive, as well as the persons on whom such emoluments were imposed. It was likewise enacted, that neither the minstrels nor the bards should lead the lives of vagabonds, nor should sing verses in houses of public resort; that they should not be intoxicated with liquor, nor be quarrelsome persons, nor be addicted to women; and that they should neither be thieves themselves, nor should be the companions of such; they were prohibited likewise from entering into any house, or making satirical songs on any person, without the licence of the parties concerned. If a minstrel or a bard should violate these restraints on their conduct, by a singular and unexampled severity, every man was made an officer of justice; and was authorised not only to arrest and to punish discretionally, but to seize upon whatever property the offender had about him. This statute, the severity of which in some degree points out its ne-

¹ The musical instruments in use among the Welsh were the *telyn* or harp, the *crwth* or crowd, the *pihgorn* or pipe, the *tabwrdd* or tabret, and the *corn buelin*, cornet or bugle horn. See Jones's Musical Remains, p. 41.

² Welsh Chron. p. 192.

cessity, has been frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by several commissions directing the better regulation of the *Order*.¹

FROM this time, under the auspicious protection of the Welsh princes, many excellent bards arose. Meilir, who was the bard of Gryffydd ap Cynan, was also employed in a military character, and was sent by that prince to transact a negociation in England. Gwalchmai the son of Meilir, in a poem entitled *Gorhoffedd*, says with much exultation, that he had defended the marches of Wales against the English. Cynddelw *Brydydd-Mawr*, or Cynddelw the Great Bard, was a person eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powys.

FROM this period, to the death of that great prince the last Llewelyn, several bards flourished of distinguished talents; the most eminent of whom was Llywarch-Prydydh-y-Moch, who has celebrated in many odes the victories of Llewelyn the Great; likewise Dafydd Penfras, Daniel ap Llosgwrn Mew, and Llewelyn Fardd ap Cyward. Contemporaries with these flourished Philip Brydydh, who was an eminent bard in Caerdigan.²

THE

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 192.

² About the year 1176 Rhys ap Gryffydd, descended from the royal house of South Wales, made a great feast in the castle of Aberteivi during the Christmas holidays; which feast he had caused to be proclaimed throughout Britain a long time before. Agreeably to this invitation, many strangers resorted to his castle, and were entertained by him with much honour and courtesy. Besides deeds of arms, and other amuse-

ments,

THE talents of the Welsh bards were not solely employed in preserving the descents of families, in the praise of heroes, or in recording their illustrious actions.¹ They sometimes in plaintive numbers mourned over the tomb of the fallen warrior.

WE offer to the reader, as a specimen of this kind of poetry, the following translation of an Elegy which was written by Llywarch-hen, a British bard of the sixth century, on the death of Cynddylan prince of Powys.

Come forth and see, ye Cambrian dames,
Fair Pengwern's² royal roofs in flames !
The foe the fatal dart hath flung
(The foe that speaks a barb'rous tongue,)
And pierc'd Cynddylan's princely head,
And stretch'd your champion with the dead.
His heart, which late, with martial fire,
Bade his lov'd country's foes expire
(Such fire as wastes the forest hill)
Now like the winter's ice is chill.

O'er the pale corse with boding cries
Sad Argoed's³ cruel eagle flies ;

ments, Rhys had caused all the bards in Wales to repair to the meeting ; and placing them on chairs in the hall of the castle, he ordered them to exercise their several talents in opposition to each other, appointing great rewards to those who excelled in their several professions. In this contest, the bards of North Wales carried away the prize, and the musicians of Rhys's own household were adjudged to have excelled in the powers of harmony. See Welsh Chron. p. 237.

¹ J. Lelandi Comm. de Scriptoribus Britann. p. 5.

² Now Shrewsbury, then the chief residence of the princes of Powys.

³ The ancient name of Powys.

He flies exulting o'er the plain,
 And scents the blood of heroes slain.
 Dire bird! this night my frightened ear
 Thy loud, ill-omen'd voice shall hear:
 I know thy cry, that screams for food,
 And thirsts to drink Cynddylan's blood.

No more the mansion of delight,
 Cynddylan's hall is dark to-night;
 Nor more the midnight hour prolongs
 With fires, and lamps, and festive songs.
 Its trembling bards afflicted shun
 The hall, bereav'd of Cyndrwyn's son.¹
 Its joyous visitants are fled;
 Its hospitable fires are dead:
 No longer, rang'd on either hand
 Its dormitory, couches stand:
 But all above, around, below,
 Dread sights, dire sounds, and shrieks of woe.

Awhile I'll weep Cynddylan slain,
 And pour the weak, desponding strain;
 Awhile I'll soothe my troubled breast:
 Then, in eternal silence rest.²

¹ Cynddylan was the son of Cyndrwyn.

² This Elegy was translated into English verse by the Rev. John Walters, master of Ruthin school, and late fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, to whose elegant taste, and judicious knowledge of the Welsh laws, the author has been much indebted. The like acknowledgement is due to the Rev. John Lloyd, rector of Caerwaes, from whose friendly attentions this work has received very considerable advantage. This gentleman, who possesses a critical judgement in the antiquities of his country, as well as an extensive knowledge of its history, is lineally descended from the princes of the house of Powys.

TYRANNY having erected her banner in Wales, by the cruel policy of Edward, in the massacre of the bards; that ancient seat of music and of poetry was deserted by the muses; and in consequence was deprived of those fascinating arts, which softened, at the same time, that they invigorated the genius of the people.

DURING the spirited, and for a while, the prosperous insurrection of Owen Glendwrwy, the muses revisited their native seats; encouraged by the munificence of that leader, and animated by the transitory ray which had dawned upon freedom. Among the number of those bards who appeared at the court of Glendwrwy, was Jolo Goch, who celebrated in a high strain of eulogy, the magnificence and the victories of his patron. At the same time flourished Dafydd ap Gwylim, a native of Caerdigan.

THE Welsh, having made the last effort for their expiring freedom, sunk into a state of slavery, the most deep and severe. The bards were prohibited by law from making their annual progress, and from holding public assemblies; which privileges were called by the natives *clera* and *Cymbortha*. During this dark period, and the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguished, or was only employed in soothing the misery of the times, by obscure predictions of more prosperous days.*

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

A BRIGHTER prospect opening on this nation in the reign of Henry the seventh, a series of bards from that time arose; who, being supported in the families of the Welsh chieftains, ascertained and preserved their genealogies; and, the causes of reciting warlike exploits having ceased, they celebrated the civil virtues of their patrons, their magnanimity, their hospitable spirit, their talents, and the graces of their persons. They, likewise, amidst other duties, had the mournful office of composing an elegy on the death of the chieftain in whose family they resided; which was sung to the surviving relations in honour of the dead; reciting the noble families from which the deceased had sprung, and the great actions performed by himself or his ancestors.

SINCE the reign of queen Elizabeth, there has not been any regular assembly of the bards.¹ The motives to emulation having ceased, and the spirit of ancient freedom being extinguished, the poetic fire, for which this nation had been so renowned, gradually declined. But a spark of that ancient fire yet remains in the genius of the Welsh; which, in their seasons of festivity, breaks out into a singular kind of poetry, called *Pennyll*;² and which, as a native art, may long survive, though
time,

¹ Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis. Jones's Musical Remains, p. 30.

² Even at this day some vein of the ancient minstrelsy survives amongst our mountains. Numbers of persons of both sexes assemble and sit round the harp, singing alternatively *Pennillion* or stanzas of ancient or modern compositions. The young people usually begin the night with dancing, and when they are tired, assume this species of relaxation. They alternately sing, dance, and drink, not by hours, but

time, or the influence of English manners, should erase every other original trait.

THE union of Wales with the crown of England, not having proceeded from mutual inclination, was received by the

but by days and weeks; and measure time only by the continuance of their mirth and pleasure. Often, like the modern Improvisatore of Italy, they sing extempore verses; and a person conversant in this art, readily produces a *pennill* opposite to the last that was sung. Many have their memories stored with several hundreds, perhaps thousands of *pennillion*, some of which they have always ready for answers to every subject that can be proposed, or if their recollection should ever fail them, they have invention to compose something pertinent and proper for the occasion. The subjects afford a great deal of mirth; some of these are jocular, others satirical, but most of them amorous; which, from the nature of the subject, are best preserved. They continue singing without intermission, never repeating the same stanza, (for that would forfeit the honour of being held first of the song) and, like nightingales, support the contest through the night. The audience usually call for the tune; sometimes a few only sing to it, and sometimes the whole company. But when a party of capital singers assemble, they rarely call for the tune, for it is indifferent to them what tune the harper plays. Parishes are often opposed against parishes, and even counties contend with counties. These rural usages are best preserved in the mountainous counties of Meirionedd and Caernarvon.—Jones's Musical Remains, p. 30. See also Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdon. The world is indebted to this Gentleman for many valuable publications respecting Wales. The countenance which they have already received from the public, on account of the agreeable descriptions given of that country, and their deep and extensive researches into its antiquities, renders any eulogium, on our part, unnecessary.

Welsh with the deepest reluctance. It was an union which they considered in no other light than as a system of slavery. Foreign laws and customs had been forced upon them; which, though better than their own, and more suited to their advances into civilization, were still the laws of a conquering nation, with which, on the footing of equality, they had so long contended. The rigour also exercised by Edward's officers in Wales, alienated them still more from an English administration; and they yet retained a fond attachment to the memory of their native princes.

To all the proposals made to them by Edward of settling their government, they gave him the same decisive answer. They said, that they were willing to be governed by a chieftain of their own country, or by the king in person; but firmly declared that they would yield no obedience to any person who was not a native of Wales, or who did not reside there. The idea struck the English monarch. He dispatched orders to queen Eleanor to come instantly into Wales. At this time she was big with child, and it was now the depth of winter. At this season of the year, and in her delicate situation, that princess travelled privately on horseback, through the roads of those times, out of England to Caernarvon. A few days before the queen was delivered, the king sent orders to the Welsh chieftains to meet him at Rhuddlan, and to take into their consideration the public concerns. Edward delayed for some time to call them into council. At length, having heard that Eleanor was
delivered

delivered of a son' on the 25th of April, he commanded the attendance of the Welsh chieftains; and told them, that as they had frequently desired he would appoint them a sovereign, he would now indulge them in their request, provided they promised to yield to the person he should name a proper obedience. They assented to the terms he proposed, in case that person should be a native of Wales. The king, then, informed them, that their intended prince was born in their own country, that he could not speak a word of English, and that his life was free from every stain. It is not easy to suppose, that the Welsh chieftains would have been the dupes of so shallow an artifice. They eagerly assented to acknowledge such a person for their sovereign. The king then informed them that their future prince was his infant son Edward, born in Caernarvon castle a few days before. It is natural to conceive, that the Welsh chieftains, though surprised at being thus caught in the snare, would console themselves with the hopes, that the young prince, as a native of Wales, would usually reside in their country. On the magnanimity which was shewn in this transaction the reader will make his own comments. But to strike out advantage from the prejudices, or peculiar attachments of the Welsh; and to render such subservient to his own views, and direct them to their ultimate benefit, was a point of nice address in the English king, and did credit to his talents.

* This intelligence was brought to the king by Sir Gryffydd Llwyd, who on that account was knighted by the English prince. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238. *Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl.* p. 2465.

* *Welsh Chron.* p. 377. *Stowe's Chron.* p. 202.

HAVING finished the affairs of North Wales, Edward, to gratify a martial nobility, and to amuse or flatter his new subjects by a spectacle unknown to the Welsh, gave orders that a tournament should be held at Nevyn, a town in Caernarvonshire, and situated on the Irish channel.¹ This joust was in imitation of that species of military entertainment supposed to be instituted by king Arthur; and which was called the *Round Table*, from the knights who resorted to these martial exercises being seated at a table of that form.² A great number of knights, as well English as foreigners, came from different countries to share in this splendid and military entertainment.³ And here the English king had an opportunity of shewing his Welsh subjects that he was not inferior to Arthur their celebrated warrior, in feats of arms, and in knightly accomplishments. This diversion being ended, he made a progress through Caerdigan, where he remained a month to settle the affairs of South Wales; from thence he proceeded into the county of Glamorgan, on a visit to the earl of Gloucester, to whom that country belonged; and having been nobly entertained by that lord,⁴ he arrived at Bristol, in which city he remained during the Christmas holy days.⁵ On the second of January, he issued a writ from thence, of a conciliatory nature; by which the inhabitants of Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon,

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¹ Matth. Westm. p. 178.

² This custom, it is said, had also been in use among the Gauls and the ancient Britons. Camden's Brit. p. 664. Gibson's edition.

³ Matth. Westm. p. 178. Camden's Brit. p. 664. Gibson's edition.

⁴ Carte, vol. II. p. 197. ⁵ Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110. Holinshed, p. 282.

and other towns, were declared to be free from paying talliages for ever.¹ King Edward then returned to London, after an absence of nearly three years.² On his arrival in his capital, he rode in great solemnity through London to Westminster, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, dressed in their sacred vestments, besides an infinite multitude who attended the procession. The king, on this occasion, carried a part of our Lord's Cross which he had brought out of Wales, which was gilded, and ornamented with precious stones, and placed it upon the great altar in Westminster abbey.

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THE joy which Edward would naturally feel on the prosperous issue of his affairs, had been highly imbibed by the death of Alphonso³ his eldest son, a youth of no more than twelve years of age, who died on the nineteenth of August in the preceding year; a prince much admired by the English for his beauty, valour, and spirit. By his death the young prince, Edward of Caernarvon, became heir apparent to the English crown.⁴

THE idea of that prince being a native of Wales, and the expectation that he would be accustomed to speak their language

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 284.

² *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

³ A few months before his death, coming to Westminster, he offered up at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, precious stones, and a piece of gold which had been the property of Llewelyn the late prince of Wales. See *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

⁴ Chr. T. Wyke, p. 112. Polidore Virgil, p. 325.

and

and to reside in their country, were the only ties which secured the fidelity of the Welsh nation to the English government. These bands being loosened, and the only motives to union having ceased, every part of the newly subdued state fell again into disorder: a spirit of resistance revived in the Welsh, not under the sole guidance of any distinguished person, nor upon any plan of concerted operation, but only as chance or caprice, private ambition, or national hatred directed.

At this time the king of England was in Guienne, and had left, during his absence, the earl of Cornwall regent of the realm. In the late conquest of Wales, Rhys ap Meredydh had been active in the service of Edward; and in consequence of that service had been made a knight, and flattered with the hopes of receiving from the hands of that prince still farther honours. Instead of his expectations being realized, it seems as if he had been left in that cold neglect, which is frequently the just reward bestowed upon wicked and interested men, when their services are no longer necessary. He was cited to appear in the county courts, with other Welsh noblemen, by Robert de Tibetot, and Alan Plucknet, the one justiciary of South Wales and governor of several castles adjoining to the territory of Rhys ap Meredydh, and the other the king's steward in Wales.¹ Incensed at this summons, the Welsh chieftain refused his compliance. It was too mortifying to Rhys so easily to relinquish his rights, derived from a long train of princely an-

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 379. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Holinshed, p. 283.

cestors; or to see them mingle in the common ruin of ancient customs. Legal measures were taken to enforce his obedience. During the process, frequent hostilities occurred between the retainers of the two parties, to the great annoyance of the country; at length the disorder rose to such a height, as to make it necessary, by an order of the English king, for the earl of Cornwall to come in person into Wales with an army, and endeavour to check the insurrection. At the same time Edward himself wrote to Rhys ap Meredydh, to desire that he would cease from hostilities; assuring him, that, on his return, the evils he complained of should be redressed, and that all reasonable justice should be done him.¹ Rhys thought the king's absence a fair opportunity of rousing the spirit of the Welsh nation, as yet not reconciled to subjection, and of mounting the throne of his ancestors.² In pursuance of this design, and that his followers might have no hopes of safety but in their own valour, he took the castles of Llandovery and Dinevawr, and likewise set fire to several towns.³

A. D.
1287.

THE earl of Cornwall, designing at the same time to attack the rebel chieftain in several quarters, summoned the military tenants of the crown to rendezvous at Gloucester, Llanbadernvawr, and Monmouth, ready to march under his own command, or under the earl of Gloucester, who was appointed general in this

¹ Welsh Chron. p. 379. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Holinshed, p. 283.

² Polidore Virgil, p. 326.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

expedition.¹ This appointment however was superseded by Cornwall himself,² who, marching into Wales, obliged Rhys and his followers to retire into the fastnesses of the country; which gave that nobleman an opportunity of taking and demolishing the castles of the Welsh chieftain. One of these was the castle of Ruslin. It was usual in those days, in the siege of a fortress, to undermine the walls by sinking a mine, and to support it with timber until the besiegers were ready to begin the attack; they then set fire to the props, and the mine sinking in consequence, the walls fell to the ground, and the assault immediately took place. During this operation, in the siege of this fortress the lord Stafford, and William de Monchency, attended by many knights and esquires, came to reconnoitre the works; but the miners, unskilful in that service, had supported the mine so weakly, that the walls suddenly falling in, they all perished under the ruins. Though the castle was taken, the expedition was rendered of little advantage, by the earl of Gloucester having remained inactive; owing, it is probable, to his having been superseded in the command, or to some secret inclination he might feel to favour the enemy's cause.³ The earl of Cornwall, unable to force Rhys ap Meredydh, and the season of the year advancing into winter, was obliged to relinquish the enterprise, and to grant him a truce.⁴

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

² Ibid.

³ Holinhead, p. 284. Matth. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 240.

⁴ Ibid.

THE regent had no sooner arrived at Westminster early in November, than the Welsh chieftain renewed hostilities, and laid siege to the castle of Emlyn.¹ On this breach of the treaty the justiciary set a price upon his head, and also proclaimed him a traitor: summonses were likewise issued by the earl of Cornwall for the English nobility on the borders of Wales to take up arms against the rebels.² The Mortimers, and other lords of the marches, taking arms under Robert de Tibetot, gained possession of a strong fortress belonging to Rhys; and so effectually checked his designs, that having no security in his own territories, he took refuge in those of the earl of Gloucester, by whose means he afterwards escaped into Ireland.³

HAVING remained inactive three years, in this retreat, Rhys ap Meredydh came again into South Wales; and raising a new insurrection, the justiciary opposed him with the few forces which on a sudden he was able to raise. Informed that his own troops were more in number than the English, the Welsh chieftain, with great confidence, marched to give them the meeting. The levies which he had brought into the field were composed of young and raw soldiers: accustomed to no discipline, they did not preserve any order in their ranks, but with great fury attacked their enemies in front, flank, and rear, expecting on the first onset to break their array. The English troops, forming into a close body, presented

A. D.
1290.

¹ Rymer, vol. II. p. 354.

² T. Wyke, p. 115. Rymer, vol. II. p. 344, 345.

³ Holinshed, p. 284. Matth. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 240.

a front on every side to the assailants. The action continued for some time warmly disputed: the Welsh repeating their onsets with much bravery, and the English as bravely beating them back: at length, the assaults of the Welsh growing more weak, the English made an effort to break through the main body of the enemy, which they easily accomplished. The Welsh troops, confused and in dismay, were beaten down on every side. Four thousand of them were slain in this engagement.¹ Their leader Rhys ap Meredydh was taken prisoner; and a little time after, on the departure of the king into Scotland, he was executed at York, agreeably to the new mode of punishment; by being drawn at the tails of horses, and afterwards hanged and quartered.² After his death, the castles and territories of the Welsh chieftain were given to Robert de Tibetot.³

THE king of England, at this time, was engaged in a dispute with the French monarch; and other means having proved ineffectual, he determined to do himself justice by force of arms. In this design, he was assisted by his English subjects, who granted him very liberal supplies; and he now attempted to make an experiment of taxation on his new subjects the Welsh. He appointed Roger de Puleston, a man of great eminence in the country, and who was high in his favour, to collect a fifteenth of their moveables.⁴ As yet little inured to the habits of a foreign

¹ Holinshed, p. 284. Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465.

² Polidore Virg. p. 326, 327. Matt. West. p. 184, says he was executed at Berwick.

³ Rymer, vol. II. p. 482.

⁴ Welsh Chron. p. 380. Carte, vol. II. p. 236, from Walsingham, Chr. Dunstaple. *Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.*

government, the spirit of the Welsh was set on fire wherever this tax was attempted to be enforced ; an assent to which they considered as forming a precedent in future for impositions of the like nature.

THREE insurrections sprang up in Wales, in different places, and nearly at the same time ; though it does not appear that they were directed by any common principle of union.

THE natives of West Wales¹ rose up in arms, under the leading of Maelgwyn Vychan, and plundered the counties of Pembroke and Caerdigan. The people who inhabited Glamorgan and the southern parts, also revolted under the conduct of a chieftain of the name of Morgan, descended from the ancient lords of that country ; and being joined by the principal vassals of the earl of Gloucester, they drove that nobleman out of his territories, and restored to the Welsh chieftain the inheritance of his ancestors. Madoc, an illegitimate son of the late gallant Llewelyn,² and who had himself assumed the title of prince, was at the head of the insurgents in North Wales.³

THE revolt opened with acts of hostility, which marked an inveteracy of spirit, and a firm resolution in the Welsh, that the sword alone should secure their safety, and determine the dispute. Seizing on Roger de Puleston, they caused him to be hanged, and afterwards cut off his head ; the same fate attended all his asso-

¹ Pembrokeshire.

² Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

³ Matth. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinhead, p. 293.

ciates.

ciates who were concerned in collecting this odious tribute. About the middle of July, Madoc proceeded to Caernarvon, at this time crowded with the English, who had assembled there on account of a great fair. These unarmed people were all slaughtered: the town was plundered and set on fire, and the castle of Caernarvon taken: the fortrefs in Snowdun, likewise, fell into the hands of Madoc, and who soon after gained possession of Anglesey.*

A REVOLT so widely spread, and which had opened with such daring insults, determined Edward to suspend his intended views on the continent; and to recall his forces, at that time ready to embark under the command of his brother the earl of Lancaster, and of Henry Lacie lord of Denbigh and earl of Lincoln. The latter nobleman, with a view of preserving the castle of Denbigh, advanced before the king into North Wales; and proceeding in his route under the walls of that fortrefs, on the eleventh of November, was suddenly encountered by the Welsh; who, encouraged by the situation of the English army, were desirous of hazarding their fortunes upon the issue of a single battle. The event was glorious to the Welsh; the English forces were defeated and forced to retire.†

THE revolt in Pembroke, under the conduct of Maelgwyn Vychan, had not proved so successful; as that chieftain, about

* Matth. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshed, p. 293.

† Carte, vol. II. p. 237, from T. Walsingham. Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.

‡ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2471. Polidore Virgil, p. 332. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshed, p. 293.

this time, was taken prisoner ; and being conveyed to Hereford, he was in that city drawn at the tails of horses to the place of execution, and hanged with two of his accomplices.¹

THE earl of Warwick had already obliged Morgan, the other chieftain who had revolted in South Wales, to submit himself to the royal mercy, with seven hundred of his retainers.² That chief, and others of the Welsh nobility, who were vassals of the earl of Gloucester, disgusted with the pride of that nobleman, and his arbitrary conduct, had entered into a resolution never to submit to his authority ; but offered to yield themselves up to the king, provided they might hold their estates of the crown of England. Being indulged in this request, Morgan and the other Welsh chieftains laid down their arms, did homage to Edward, and delivered hostages for their fidelity.³ At this time the English king was in South Wales, attempting in person to quiet the disorders of that country. He had been deceived into the expectation that the county of Caerdigan would have followed the example of the people of Glamorgan ; but this submission at present not taking place, the English prince, in resentment of the deception which had been offered him by the abbot of Strata-Florida, set fire to that abbey.⁴

ALARMED at a revolt which was now rising into importance, and which menaced the safety of his new dominions, Edward came into North Wales to conduct the war in person. Having

¹ Matth. Westm. p. 191, calls him Chanan.

² Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 919.

³ Matth. Westm. p. 191. Carté, vol. I. p. 237.

⁴ Guthrie, vol. I. p. 919.

proceeded in his march to the Conway, he crossed that arm of the sea with a part of his forces ; and retiring into the castle, waited for the remainder of his army to follow. In his passage he lost many waggons and other carriages loaded with victuals, which had been intercepted by the Welsh ; who in great multitudes came down from the mountains, and invested the castle on the side of the land. A sudden rise in the Conway, preventing his troops from passing the river, and affording him any assistance, rendered Edward's situation exceedingly alarming ; he was in great want of provisions, was cut off from his army, and was surrounded on every side by water and the enemy. The distress of the garrison was so great with respect to provisions, that Edward, in common with the soldiers, was obliged to eat salted meat, and the coarse bread which was found in the castle, and to use water likewise for his drink mixed with honey. A single flaggon of wine only remained in the fortress, which being reserved solely for the king's use, that prince could not be prevailed upon to taste it ; but causing it to be mingled with water, he ordered the liquor to be distributed among the garrison ; declaring, with a manly spirit, that he would share every extremity with the meanest soldier.* In this perilous state, when any moment might have been fatal, Edward's usual good fortune attended him. The Conway suddenly subsiding, his forces were enabled to cross the water and come to his relief. The Welsh, then, abandoned the siege and retired to the mountains of Snowdun. The English king, on the enemies retreat, passed the Christmas holidays without molestation in the castle of Conway.†

* Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2472.

† Holinhead, p. 293. Welsh Chron. p. 380.

THE earl of Warwick, having received intelligence that a large body of the enemy was encamped in a valley, which was inclosed on each side by a wood, selected for this service a squadron of horse, with a detachment of cross-bow-men and archers; and with this force, marching silently in the night, he suddenly surrounded the Welsh, little suspecting an assault. With much coolness, however, the Welsh, fixing their spears in the ground, and presenting a dangerous front, kept off the English horse. Not able to make any impression, the earl of Warwick placed a cross-bow-man or an archer in every interval between two horsemen; who, thus, fighting at a distance, slew great numbers with their shot and arrows; then charging the remaining body with his horse, the Welsh phalanx was broken, and was soon entirely routed with great slaughter.¹ After this action, Edward, finding no enemy to resist him, crossed over the Menai into Anglesey; where he erected a strong fortress, which he called Beumarish,² as a check to the natives of that island. Then having laid the country more open, by cutting roads through the woods,³ and having severely punished those persons who had been concerned in the murder of Roger de Puleston, he returned with his army into England.⁴

ALL this time, the gallant Madoc, giving way to the storm, though still unbroken in his spirit, had retired into a place of security. The young chieftain, no doubt, on his first success,

¹ J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Holinhead, p. 294.

² Camden's Brit. p. 675. Gibson's edit.

³ Holinhead, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 381.

⁴ Matth. Westm. p. 191.

had flattered himself with the hopes of restoring his country to its ancient freedom.¹ Incited by this fond idea, the Welsh in great numbers still eagerly joined his standard. On the king's departure, Madoc invaded the English borders. Having reduced Oswestry, and ravaged the adjacent country, he defeated the lord Strange near Knocking; then again defeating a body of English in another engagement, he proceeded towards Shrewsbury; but during his progress, his forces were routed by the lords of the marches, and he himself, after a long resistance, was taken prisoner upon the hills of Cefn Digolh not far from Caurs castle.² Madoc was sent up to London, and doomed by king Edward to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower.³

ON this disaster, all the Welsh chieftains laid down their arms and submitted to the English monarch; whose conduct on this occasion was politic, and tempered in some degree with lenity. No victim was sacrificed to the severity of his justice: he gave to the heirs of the rebellious chieftains their forfeited estates; requiring only a compensation for the damages which he had sustained in the war, with an assurance likewise of implicit obedience for the future. Lest the moderation of his conduct might again incite them to revolt, he assured them, that he would entirely exterminate their nation, if they again presumed to resist his authority.⁴ The most eminent of the

A. D.
1295

¹ Holinshed, p. 294.

² It is said by others, that Madoc was delivered up to Edward by his own army.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 381.

⁴ Carte's Hist. Eng. p. 237.

Welsh nobility were confined in different castles of England, where they remained some years, during the wars of Edward in Scotland; that prince, no doubt, regarding their confinement as the only sure pledge of their fidelity. The greater number of these chieftains were imprisoned in the Tower of London. To soothe their minds during this solitary confinement, banished from their country and their friends, the Welsh chieftains solicited the favour that their manuscripts might be sent to them out of Wales. They were indulged in this reasonable request. And as it is natural to conclude, that they made a free use of this indulgence, in process of time the Tower became the principal repository of Welsh literature. This valuable collection is said to have been committed to the flames by one Scolan,* a person who is only known to the world by having perpetrated so infamous an action; and who might have been instigated to it by the same motive, which impelled Herostratus to set on fire the temple of Diana.

THE insurrections already recited, with the revolt of Sir Gryffydd Llwyd, and the rebellion of Owen Glendwrwy,* were the last efforts which the Welsh made to recover the freedom they had lost. Their wild spirit of independence, and their enthusiasm for liberty, from this period gradually declined. The blood of their beloved princes was nearly extinct; and their

* Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472. Holinhead, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 382.

* Jones's Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards, p. 1. • Glyndyfrdwy.

native bravery was subdued, or rendered ineffectual, by their intestine divisions, and by their repeated misfortunes. When fierce valour and unregulated freedom are opposed to discipline, to enlarged views, and to sound policy, the contest is very unequal; it is not therefore surprising that the genius of England at length obtained the ascendancy. It was, indeed, an interesting spectacle, and might justly have excited indignation and pity, to have seen an ancient and gallant nation, falling the victims of private ambition, or sinking under the weight of a superior power. But such emotions, which were then due to that injured people, have lost, at this period, their force and their poignancy. A new train of ideas arise, when we see that the change is beneficial to the vanquished: when we see a wild and precarious liberty succeeded by a freedom, which is secured by equal and fixed laws: when we see manners hostile and barbarous, and a spirit of rapine and cruelty, softened down into the arts of peace, and the milder habits of civilized life: when we see this Remnant of the ancient Britons, uniting in interests, and mingling in friendship with their conquerors, and enjoying with them the same Constitutional Liberties; the purity of which, we trust, will continue uncorrupted, as long as the British Empire shall be numbered among the nations of the earth.

THE UNION OF WALES WITH ENGLAND.

AFTER the conquest of Wales by Edward the first, the concerns of that country, considered in a national light, are entirely uninteresting; as the inhabitants of which, until the reign of Henry the seventh, were reduced to a state of bondage the most deep and severe.*

ACTUATED by few other springs than their passions, restrained by no regular police, no longer animated by the presence of their princes, nor their minds softened by the influence of native arts, the manners of the Welsh nation, for a long period, degenerated into the deepest ferocity. Unemployed in the arts of peace, little civilized by social intercourse, and enjoying only a narrow and partial hospitality, their eager spirit, no longer directed against a potent and hereditary enemy, naturally sunk into deadly feuds,^a or was deeply engaged in the pleasures of the chase.

THOUGH the policy of Edward the first had allowed the Welsh nation to enjoy their liberties, and to hold their estates under ancient tenures, they had much reason to complain of the excessive rigour which had been exercised over them by the

* See Statutes respecting Wales in the reigns of Henry the fourth, and Henry the sixth.

^a Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 78, 79, &c.

officers of justice, and of the rapacity of the English barons who had settled in Wales.*

THE powers of the lords marchers were still in their full force, and had been exercised with such severity upon the Welsh, as to render an act of parliament necessary in the reign of Henry the eighth. The statute is to the following purpose ; “ Whereas
 “ many robberies, murders, and other evil practices have been
 “ daily committed in the county palatine of Chester, and Flint-
 “ shire in Wales, and also in Anglesea, Caernarvon, Meirionyd,
 “ Caerdigan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Glamorgan ; because
 “ justice is not administered there in such form as in other
 “ places of this realm : for the remedy of this, it is enacted,
 “ that the Lord Chancellor of England, or Keeper of the Great
 “ Seal, shall nominate and appoint justices of peace, justices of
 “ the quorum, and justices of the goal-delivery in the said
 “ counties, and that they shall have like power and authority
 “ as those in England.” This statute in some measure lessened the evils complained of ; as it was the means of keeping offenders in awe, they not being able, as before, to escape, and to flee from one lordship marcher to another ; it also placed the administration of justice on a more stable foundation.

ANOTHER evil had likewise arisen, which strongly marked the oppression of the times ; to the remedy of which a succeeding statute was judged necessary, and was to the following effect :

* Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 30, 31, 34.

“ Whereas

“ Whereas in Wales and in the Marches, there are many
 “ forests belonging either to the king or to the lords marchers,
 “ wherein fundry actions have been committed for a long
 “ time, contrary to the law of God and man; infomuch, that
 “ if any person entered the said forests without a *token* given
 “ him by any of the foresters, as a licence to pass, or unless
 “ he was a yearly *tributer* or *chenfer*, he was forced to pay a
 “ grievous fine; and if he should chance to be found twenty-
 “ four feet out of the highway, he was then to forfeit all the
 “ gold or money which was found on his person, and likewise a
 “ joint of one of his hands, unless he was fined for the offence
 “ at the discretion of the forester, or farmer of the same. And
 “ whereas likewise, if any cattle strayed into the said forests,
 “ it was the custom of the foresters to mark them for their
 “ own, with the mark of the forest.” By this statute, it was
 enacted, that people should be allowed to pass through these
 forests as freely as in other places; and that strayed cattle,
 within a year and a day, should be restored to the right owners,
 they only paying a compensation for the herbage.

THESE statutes, restraining the powers of the lords marchers,
 were some years after succeeded by another act of Parliament,
 which rendered those lords no longer the objects of terror,
 and entirely destroyed their juridical authority. It was to the
 following effect: “ Whereas by the gifts of the kings of Eng-
 “ land, many of the most ancient prerogatives and authorities
 “ of justice appertaining to the imperial crown of this realm,
 “ have been severed and taken from the same; it was then
 “ enacted,

“ enacted, that no person should have power and authority
“ to pardon or to remit treasons, murders, man-slaughters, or
“ any felonies, or their accessaries in any part of England,
“ Wales, or in the marches of the same: That likewise no
“ person should make justices of oyer, justices of assize, justices
“ of peace, or justices of goal-delivery; but they should in
“ future be made only by the king’s letters patent: And that
“ all original writs, judicial writs, and all manner of indict-
“ ments for treason, felony, and trespass, and all manner of
“ process should be only made in the king’s name; and that
“ all offences committed against the peace, should be considered
“ as an offence committed against the king, and not against
“ the peace of any other person.” These excessive powers,
which had been anciently vested in those persons who enjoyed
counties palatine, and *jura regalia* in lordship marchers, being
thus taken away, a more regular and uniform course of justice
was established; and in consequence, the disorders continually
occurring within those precincts were in a great measure
prevented.

THOUGH these humane and salutary statutes had relieved the
Welsh from many of their sufferings, the line of distinction
was still preserved, and they yet remained as a separate people;
a distinction, contrary to all just ideas of government, and
which could only serve to keep alive their national prejudices.
But the Welsh themselves, and it may be recorded to their
honour, solicited Henry the eighth that he would extend his
liberal designs, and would give them a still more salutary effect.

The

The petition itself, which they sent to that monarch, will best explain their extensive views and manly spirit, as well as the nature and justice of their claims.

“ May it please your Highness.”

“ WE, on the part of your Highness’s subjects, inhabiting
“ that portion of the island which our invaders first called Wales,
“ most humbly prostrate at your Highness’s feet, do crave to
“ be received and adopted into the same laws, and privileges,
“ which your other subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us
“ (we hope) that we have lived so long under our own. For as
“ they were both enacted by authority of our ancient law-givers,
“ and obeyed for many successions of ages, we trust your High-
“ ness will pardon us, if we thought it neither easy nor safe
“ so suddenly to relinquish them. We shall not presume yet
“ to compare them with these now used, and less shall we
“ contest how good and equal in themselves they are. Only if
“ the defence of them and our liberty against the Romans,
“ Saxons, and Danes, for so many hundred years, and lastly
“ against the Normans, as long as they pretended no title but
“ the sword, was thought just and honourable; we presume it
“ will not be infamous now; and that all the marks of rebellion
“ and falsehood, which our revilers would fasten on us, will fall
“ on any, sooner than those who fought for so many years, and
“ with so different nations for our just defence: Which also is
“ so true, that our best histories affirm the christian religion to
“ have been preserved only by us for many years that the Saxons
“ (being heathens) either attempted or possessed this country.

Y y y

“ May

“ May your Highness then graciously interpret our actions, while
“ we did but that duty which your Highness would have now
“ done by all your subjects on like occasion ; for when any
“ should invade this country henceforth, we know your Highness
“ would have us to behave ourselves no otherwise. Besides,
“ had not the assailers found some resistance, they might have
“ despised a country, that brought none forth able enough to
“ assert it ; so that we crave pardon, Sir, if we say it was fit for
“ the honour of your dominions that some part of it should
“ never be conquered. We then in the name of whatsoever in
“ your Highness’s possession hath in any age held out against all
“ invaders, do here voluntarily resign, and humble ourselves to
“ that sovereignty, which we acknowledge so well invested in
“ your Highness. Nor is this the first time ; we have always
“ attended on occasion to unite ourselves to the greater and
“ better parts of the island.

“ But as the kings of this realm, weary of their attempts in
“ person against us, did formerly give not only our country to
“ those who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura regalia*,
“ within their several precincts ; so it was impossible to come to
“ an agreement, while so many that undertook this work,
“ usurped martial and absolute power and jurisdiction in all
“ they acquired, without establishing any equal justice. And
“ that all offenders flying from one lordship marcher (for so
“ they were termed) to another, did both avoid the punishment
“ of the law, and easily commit those robberies, which formerly
“ tainted the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous
“ laws,

“ laws, not only of the severall conquerors of England, but the
“ attempters on our parts, were brought to an equal modera-
“ tion, no union, how muchsoever affected by us, could ensue.

“ THEREFORE, and not sooner, we submitted ourselves to
“ Edward the first, a prince, who made both many and equaller
“ laws than any before him; therefore we defended his son Ed-
“ ward the second, when not only the English forsook him, but
“ ourselves might have recovered our former liberty, had we
“ desired it. Therefore we got victories for Edward the third,
“ and stood firm during all the dissensions of this realm to his
“ grandchild and successor Richard the second. Only if some
“ amongst us resisted Henry the fourth, your Highness may
“ better suppose the reason than we tell it, though divers foreigners
“ openly refusing to treat with him as a sovereign and lawful
“ prince, have sufficiently published it. We did not yet decline
“ a due obedience to Henry the fifth, though in doubtful times,
“ we cannot deny, but many refractory persons have appeared.
“ Howsoever, we never joined ourselves with the English rebels,
“ or took occasion thereby to recover our liberty, though in
“ Richard the second's time, and during all the civil wars be-
“ twixt Lancaster and York, much occasion was given. For
“ adhering to the house of York, which we conceived the better
“ title, we conserved our devotion still to the crown, until your
“ Highness's father's time, who (bearing his name and blood
“ from us) was the more chearfully assisted by our predecessors
“ in his title to the crown, which your Highness doth presently
“ enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a

“ generous courage in defending our laws and country, we have
“ given no less proof of a loyal fidelity since we first rendered
“ ourselves. In so much, that we may truly affirm, that after
“ our acceptance of the condition given us by Edward the first,
“ we have omitted no occasion of performing the duty of loving
“ subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more,
“ than that all those controversies about succession (which so
“ long wasted this land) are determined in your Highness’s
“ person, in whom we acknowledge both Houses to be happily
“ united.

“ To your Highness therefore we offer all obedience, desiring
“ only that we may be defended against the insults of our malig-
“ nant censurers : for we are not the offspring of the run-away
“ Britons, (as they term us) but natives of a country, which,
“ besides defending itself, received all those who came to us for
“ succours. Give us then (Sir) permission to say, that they
“ wrong us much, who pretend our country was not inhabited
“ before them, or that it failed in a due piety, when it was
“ so hospitable to all that fled thither for refuge : which also will
“ be more credible, when it shall be remembered, that even our
“ highest mountains furnish good beef and mutton, not only to
“ all the inhabitants, but supply England in great quantity.
“ We humbly beseech your Highness therefore, that this note
“ may be taken from us. As for our language, though it seem
“ harsh, it is that yet which was spoken anciently, not only in
“ this island, but in France : some dialects whereof therefore re-
“ main still amongst the *Bas-Bretons* there, and here in Corn-
“ wall.

“ wall. Neither will any man doubt it, when he shall find
 “ those words of the ancient Gaulish language repeated by the
 “ Latin authors, to signify the same thing amongst us at this
 “ day : Nor shall it be a disparagement (we hope) that it is
 “ spoken so much in the throat, since the Florentine and Spaniard
 “ affect this kind of pronunciation, as believing words that
 “ sound so deep proceed from the heart. So that if we have
 “ retained this language longer than the more northern inhabi-
 “ tants of this island (whose speech appears manifestly to be a
 “ kind of English, and consequently introduced by the Saxons)
 “ we hope it will be no imputation to us ; your Highness will
 “ have but the more tongues to serve you : it shall not hinder
 “ us to study English, when it were but to learn how we might
 “ the better serve and obey your Highness : to whose laws we
 “ most humbly desire again to be adopted ; and doubt not,
 “ but if in all countries the mountains have afforded as eminent
 “ wits and spirits as any other part, ours also, by your High-
 “ ness’s good favour and employment, may receive that esteem.”

THE king of England, having considered the loyalty of his Welsh subjects, and the reasonable nature of their claim, ordered a statute to be enacted in parliament, which entirely united Wales with his English dominions ; regarding, no doubt, such an union as an object of sound policy.

THE statute is to this effect.

“ THAT as the dominion, principality and country of Wales
 “ is a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm,

“ whereof therefore the king is head and ruler ; yet as it hath
“ divers rights, usages, laws and customs very different to the
“ laws and customs of this realm, and because the language of
“ that country is different from that which is spoken here, and
“ that many rude people hereupon have made distinction and
“ diversity betwixt his Highness’s other subjects, and them, to
“ the causing of much discord and sedition ; his Highness there-
“ fore, out of his love and favour to his subjects in Wales, and
“ for reducing them to his laws, doth by advice and consent of
“ his parliament ordain and enact, that Wales shall be united
“ and incorporated henceforth to and with his realm of Eng-
“ land ; and that his subjects in Wales shall enjoy and inherit
“ all singular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges and laws which
“ his Highness’s subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit. And
“ therefore that inheritances shall descend after the manner of
“ England, without division or partition, and not after any
“ tenure or form of Welsh laws or customs. And forasmuch
“ as there are divers lordships marchers within the said country
“ or dominion in Wales, being no parcel of any other shires
“ where the laws and due correction is used and had, and that
“ in them and the countries adjoining manifold murders,
“ robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to
“ all law and justice, because the offenders, making their refuge
“ from one lordship marcher to another, were continued without
“ punishment and correction : Therefore it is enacted that the
“ said lordships marchers shall be united, annexed, and joined
“ to divers shires specified in the said act.”

* This account of the abolition of lordships marchers, and of the petition of the Welsh to Henry the eighth, has been taken from lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his history of the reign of that monarch.

THIS

THIS statute was put into immediate execution. The utility of which has been fully justified by the experience of nearly three centuries. During this time, the genius of the Welsh nation has taken a different turn, has composed itself to rational obedience, and has been directed to those pursuits which tend to polish their manners, to enlarge their views, and to cultivate their minds; and, by consequence, to promote the happiness of individuals, as well as the best interests of the public.

THE
INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS
OF
CHRISTIANITY
IN
BRITAIN AND IN CAMBRIA.

THE Saxons having destroyed, with barbarous rage, the ancient monuments of the British history, it is difficult to determine, at this time, whether Christianity was established by the divine mission of the apostles and their first disciples, or by the pious labours of succeeding missionaries.¹ This event, from the want of authentic records, forms a doubtful part of history; being nearly lost in the darkness of those times, and enveloped amidst the legendary fables of the monks. It is however allowed, that christianity was introduced about the middle of the first century; having been perhaps in some degree favoured by an edict of the emperor Claudius, which had been issued to exterminate the Druidical religion.² But though the *christian faith*

A. D.
60.

¹ Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist.

² Whitaker's Hist. Manchester, vol. II. p. 187.

had

had been thus early planted in the island, it does not appear to have taken root, or to have spread, until the time of Lucius, who is said to have reigned in Britain about the end of the second century.¹ Soon after the conversion of this prince from paganism, he sent ambassadors to Eusebius, the bishop of Rome, to solicit the assistance of pious and learned men; by whose labours his own faith might be confirmed, and christianity extended through the nation. By the industry and zeal of *those* who in consequence were sent by that prelate, the Britons were in general converted; and the British church received at that period a considerable degree of strength and of union, by being reduced into a regular establishment.² This prince is said to have converted the heathen temples into places of christian worship; and to have divided the national church into three ecclesiastical provinces, each of which was a *metropolitan see*, and the residence of an archbishop. The first see was fixed at London, and contained within its province the south of England. The second was settled at Caer Lleon upon Uske in Monmouthshire, and held within its jurisdiction *Cambria*, or Wales. The third see was established at York, which extended its ecclesiastical power over the northern parts of the island.³ Besides three archbishops, there were twenty-eight suffragan bishops; the whole being equal to the number of Arch-

A. D.
180.

¹ Vertigan, in his Epistle to the English Nation, p. 2. Flor. Wighorne. Mar. Sabellicus. Godwin's English Bishops.

² Archbishop Usher, cap. viii. 4. Mosheim, vol. I. p. 121. Godwin's English Bishops. Geoffry Monmouth.

³ Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 142.

flamens and Flamens, who had presided over the Pagan hierarchy in Britain.¹ At the same time that christianity acquired this degree of regularity, a school for religious learning was established at *Bangor-is-Coed* in Flintshire, which afterwards became the great seminary of knowledge for the province of Cambria.²

To decide upon the credit which is due to this legend is a difficult point to the historian, many learned writers having held different opinions with respect to the real existence of Lucius; on the authenticity of which is founded the fabric of the early British church. The evidence of Tertullian and Origen, who lived about the second century, and of St. Chrysostome and other fathers of a later period, bear testimony to the early introduction of christianity into the island, as well as to the salutary effects which it had produced upon the manners of the Britons.³ The British bishops also appear to have attained a degree of pre-eminency, in the public councils of the church, on account of the christian *faith* having been earlier established in Britain than in any of the western parts of Europe.⁴

THE flames of persecution, which under several emperors had raged in various parts of the Roman empire, had not extended into Britain before the reign of Dioclesian; and from the first establishment of the church under Lucius to this

¹ Godwin's English bishops, p. 157. Geoffry Monmouth. Speed's Chron. p. 79.

² Rowland's Mona, p. 142.

³ Speed's Chron. p. 76, 77.

⁴ Rowland's Mona, p. 138.

period, it enjoyed an universal tranquillity.* But the rapid progress of christianity alarmed the heathen priests; who were afraid lest their power, together with *Polytheism*, would sink under that ascendancy which the new religion was acquiring over the minds of men. Influenced by these motives, they assailed the fears of Dioclesian with unjust accusations against the christians; imposing on him fictitious oracles, and other insidious arts, which influence the timid and superstitious. After some resistance, the zeal of this prince was inflamed by an interested priesthood, and a cruel persecution ensued; which was of so long continuance, that it had nearly proved fatal to the christian cause.† The church of Britain shared in the general calamity; for, during its progress, the sacred edifices were destroyed, the priests were massacred, and the people were either killed, or obliged to abjure their religion. The first person who sealed with martyrdom his faith in the religion of Christ, was Alban, of the city Verulamium, who was beheaded upon the site of the present town of St. Alban's;‡ and at the same time, and near the same place, suffered Amphibalus, who had converted that *father* to christianity.§ The next martyrs of eminence were Aaron and Julius,¶ who were put to death at

A. D.
284.A. D.
286.

* Godwin's English Bishops, 157. Speed's Chron. p. 79.

† Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 256. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 157.

‡ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 258.

§ In honour of this Saint, Offa king of the Mercians, built the monastery of St. Alban's.

¶ Speed's Chron. p. 79. from Bede. Godwin's Bishops, p. 157. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

• Matth. Paris.

Caer Lleon upon Uſke; and at Litchfield a thousand christians are ſaid to have fallen the victims of this cruel perfection.*

So late as about this period the druidical religion remained in Scotland, and in the adjacent iſlands; but Cratylinth, a king of that country, out of zeal for christianity, began his reign by the expulſion of the Druids; and having driven them out of the Iſle of Man,* which was the preſidency of the Order, and a part of his dominions, he erected there a ſtately church, to the honour of Chriſt, which, he named *Soderenſe Fanum*, or our Saviour's Church.†

THOUGH the ſituation of the Britiſh church, during the late perſecution, was truly calamitous, her ſufferings were alleviated by the ſhortneſs of their duration; for Carauſius, and after him Allectus,‡ when they uſurped the ſovereignty of the iſland, had too much policy to irritate their ſubjects, by urging the fury of the Imperial edicts. And when Conſtantius preſided over Gaul and Britain in the quality of Cæſar, he had deſerted the religion of his anceſtors; and he preſerved in ſafety the provinces under his own government, amidſt the violence of thoſe ſtorms which deſolated the other parts of the chriſtian world.¶ Afterwards when that prince had ſucceeded to the

A. D.
286.
to
296.

* Giralduſ Cambrenſis Itin. lib. I. cap. V. Geoffry Monmouth. Bede. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

† Or *Mon.*

‡ Rowland, p. 108.

§ Carte, vol. I. p. 136, 146.

¶ Meſſias, vol. I. p. 256, 258, 259.

Purple as Emperor of the West, he passed the small remainder of his days in Britain; and besides the zeal which was natural to a convert, he had an additional motive for shewing favour to the church, by having married in his youth, Helena, who was a christian princess of the island.¹ But under the auspices of Constantine the Great, whose elevated qualities had seated him without a rival on the Imperial throne, christianity became the established religion of the empire.² A luminous appearance of a cross seen in the air at noon day by Constantine, as he was marching towards Rome to attack Maxentius, with the inscription upon it of *Hoc signo Vinctes*, is attested by an ancient writer³ as the cause of this prince's conversion.⁴ But whether this event was owing to such an interposition of heaven, or to the same appearance being exhibited in a dream, or to motives of human policy, must be left at this day, amidst a variety of opinions, doubtful and undecided.

A. D.
307.

A. D.
312.

THE spirit of persecution having ceased, and Paganism having sunk under the influence of the mild or decisive qualities of these emperors, though under the direction of a higher and superior influence, the British church began to attain some degree of stability and eminence; the places of divine worship, which had been demolished in the late troubles, were rebuilt; and new ones were erected to the honour of those martyrs who had suffered in the christian cause.⁵

¹ Carte, vol. I. p. 147. Speed's Chron. p. 156. Verstegan, in his Epistle to the English Nation, p. 4.

² Mosheim, vol. I. p. 262, 266.

³ Eusebius.

⁴ Mosheim, vol. I. p. 263, 264, 266.

⁵ Speed's Chron. p. 79.

- CONSTANTINE the Great, having assumed the supreme direction of the Catholic or universal church, appointed all affairs of importance, and whatever related to the general interests of christianity, to be decided in public *Councils*; which were to be composed of delegates from the different churches in the empire.¹ The first assembly of this kind was at Arles; to which synod the British bishops in common with the other deputies were convened, to examine into and to decide upon the affair of the Donatists.² These prelates are supposed to have been the archbishops of London, York and Caer Leon.³ The doctrine of Arius having made great progress in the church, and occasioned great disquietudes among the christians, the *council* of Nice was assembled to determine upon that celebrated controversy; in which the British deputies assisted, and gave judgment against the Arian opinions.⁴ A few years after they were summoned to the second *council* of Arles, to give their suffrages to reinstate Arius and his followers in the privileges and communion of the church.⁵ Soon after this event died Constantine the Great. His son Constantius succeeded to a great part of the empire, and to his predilection for the Arian opinions.⁶ During the reign of this prince a *council* was held at Ariminum in
- A. D. 314.
- A. D. 325.
- A. D. 335.
- A. D. 337.
- A. D. 359.

¹ Mosheim, vol. I. p. 282.² Carte, vol. I. p. 282.³ Rapin, Vol. I. p. 29.⁴ Mosheim, vol. I. p. 336. Speed, p. 79. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.⁵ A *council* was held at Tyre, in the same year, for the above purpose of restoring Arius. Mosheim. Speed, p. 80.⁶ Mosheim, vol. I. p. 340.

favour of that *sect*; where we find that the British bishops¹ had the firmness to give their suffrages against the Imperial authority.²

FROM the decline of the Roman power to the final establishment of the Saxons on the island, the British church exhibited a scene of desolation. The usurpation of Maximus and other similar events; the precarious authority of the Roman edicts, their troops having been gradually withdrawn out of the island; the devastation occasioned by the Picts and Scots, with the fierce contests between the Britons and the Saxons, had conspired to render the state of christianity deplorable.³ In the course of this period the British churches were demolished; immense numbers of christians were put to death by the Saxons, who still adhered to the Pagan theology; the body of the people were sunk into a state of ignorance for want of proper culture; a remissness of discipline prevailed, and a general profligacy was introduced among the clergy.⁴

DURING this season of confusion the opinions of Pelagius had taken root, and had made considerable advances in the British church. This person was a native of the island, and

¹ The British prelates, with those of France, travelled at their own expence, having refused the offer made to them by the emperor of paying the charges of their journey.

² Speed's Chron. p. 79. Du Pin, vol. I. p. 263.

³ Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. I. cap. 14. p. 52.

⁴ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 362. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. Carte, vol. I. p. 184.

had been educated in the monastery of Bangor about the middle of the fourth century.¹ The British clergy being alarmed at the growth of his doctrines, and unable, perhaps, for want of learning, to withstand their force or subtilty, implored the assistance of the Gallican church; who deputed St. Germain the bishop of Auxerre, with Lupus the bishop of Troyes, to come over into Britain, and to prevent, if possible, their farther progress.² A solemn conference being held at Verulamium, between the established clergy and the Pelagians; the learned bishops, are said, to have defended the cause of their mission with such ability, as to convert many of those sectaries from the supposed error of their opinions.³

A. D.
429.

THOUGH the seeds of christianity had been sowed in Ireland by Palladius and a fellow missionary, they afterwards arrived at maturity under the long and pious labors of St. Patrick; who having converted the Irish to the christian faith, presided over their church for more than half a century.⁴

A. D.
433.

THE opinions of Pelagius still prevailing after the return of the missionaries, a *council* of Gallican bishops deputed St. Germain to come over a second time into Britain; who, despairing of conquering the evil by mildness or conviction, made use of a more compulsory argument; and put in force the edict of Valentinian, which had ordained the penalty of banishment to

A. D.
447.

¹ Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. Rowland, p. 183.

² Geoff. Monmouth. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

hereticks who could not be reclaimed.¹ The zeal of the British clergy in this early period of christianity, indicates, in some degree, a deficiency in liberal and enlarged sentiments.

SUCH was the state of the British church when St. Germain came upon his second mission. Regarding ignorance as the source of heresy and of the general depravity of manners, he instituted seminaries of learning; particularly for the use of those persons who were intended for *holy orders*.² But the reformation of Cambria appears to have been the object of his peculiar attention, where he principally resided during his abode in Britain; the inhabitants of that mountainous region being not yet entirely emerged out of a state of idolatry.³

To remedy these evils, and to render permanent this work of conversion; with an extension of liberal policy equal to his zeal, St. Germain instituted many schools and colleges for the instruction of youth, and for a regular supply of learned men in the ministry of the church. In these seminaries were educated many illustrious persons, who afterwards sustained the cause of christianity in the most difficult and perilous seasons.⁴

THE two most eminent of these schools were established at Henllan and Mochros, places situated on the banks of the Wye, in South Wales, under the immediate direction of Dubricius; who became afterwards so very famous for his learning and

¹ Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.

³ Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

² Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

⁴ Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

piety, that he usually had under his tuition a thousand scholars, who resorted to him from every part of the island.¹ Another person of eminence, called Iltutus,² was ordained presbyter by St. Germain; and he likewise was placed at the head of several schools which were in great repute, and filled with the sons of the British nobility. Among the number of his disciples was the famous Gildas³ the historian, and Daniel, afterwards bishop of Bangor.⁴ Paulinus,⁵ another disciple of St. Germain, settled a school at Whiteland* in Caermarthenshire; under whom studied for ten years the celebrated St. David.⁶ Another school was likewise established at Llancarvan near Cowbridge.⁷ These seminaries, with the improvement of the great monastery of Bangor in Flintshire, are monuments of the pious labours of St. Germain, during his abode in Cambria, and on his second mission into Britain.

It has been already observed, that a metropolitan see had been established many years at Caer Leon upon Uske in Monmouthshire. At this period St. Germain consecrated Dubricius† to the see of Llandaff; but he was soon after appointed archbishop of Caer Leon, and primate of all Wales.⁸ This *father* of the Cambrian church, was a person of eminent learning and integrity; and distinguished himself against the Pelagian doctrines, in a

¹ Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

² *Ellyd.*

³ Son of Gæw, a northern Briton, who having lost his territory entered into a religious life.

⁴ Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

⁵ His original name was *Rhun*. He was son of *Urien Reged*, a prince of a district in the north of England.

* *Ty Gwyn ar Daf.*

⁶ Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

⁷ *Ibid.*

† *Dufrig.*

⁸ Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 413.

synod which he held at Brevi* in Caerdiganshire.¹ After having lived to crown Uthur Pendragon, and the great Arthur, respectively kings of Britain, he resigned to St. David the primacy of Wales; and retired to the island of Bardsey;† where he died, having resided in that place many years as a religious recluse.²

THE manner of endowing the see of Llandaff with land when it was first founded, marks the degree of freedom which prevailed in those early times. This land was given to Dubricius by Meiric the first, a prince of Glamorganshire, in a general council of his nation; and with the consent of the nobility, the clergy, and laity; the same mode of procedure prevailing in every grant which was made to the church, down to the Norman conquest.³

THERE was something distinguishing in the birth, and in the personal qualities of David, the national saint of Wales, and the brightest ornament of its church. This celebrated person was uncle to king Arthur, and was the son of a prince of that country.‡ He was tall of stature, and of a comely personage; was a man of learning and eloquence, and of great austerity in his life and manners.⁴ By the industry and zeal of St. David, the opinions of Pelagius were eradicated, and the most eminent professors of his doctrines were converted to the orthodox faith.⁵

* *Llanddewi Brefi.*

¹ Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 413.

† Or the Bards Isle, on the coast of Caernarvonshire.

² Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 413. Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

³ Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

‡ *Dewi Sant ab Cedig ab Caredig ab Cynedda Wledig.* Bonedd y Saint, a very ancient British MS.

⁴ Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 414.

⁵ Ibid.

With the consent of king Arthur, he removed the metropolitan see from Caer Lleon to Menevia;* which place ever since has been called Ty Dewi by the Welsh, and St. David by the English. The noisy intercourse of a populous city like Caer Lleon, being ill adapted for contemplation, was not suited to his solitary cast of mind, and rigid sentiments of piety; and on that account he removed the see to Menevia, as to a more sequestered situation.¹ After being seated in the see of St. David sixty-five years, and having built twelve monasteries; after having been exemplary in the piety of those days, this holy person died at a most advanced period of human life; having attained, as it is said, to the age of one hundred and forty-six years. He was buried in the cathedral church of St. David; and many hundred years after was canonized by Pope Calistus the second.² The supposed power of working miracles, which a superstitious age had ascribed to St. David, was probably owing to the great length and to the extraordinary sanctity of his life. After his death no memorable transaction occurred for many years in the archiepiscopal see of St. David. In the time of Sampson, who was the twenty-sixth bishop in succession, there were seven suffragan bishops, who belonged to that see, and were subject to his authority; namely, those of Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, St. Asaph, and Fernes in Ireland.³ This bishop having fled into Britany on account of a contagious distemper which raged in his own country, he carried with him the archiepiscopal pall of St. David; and from this circumstance, or from their poverty or negligence,

* *Hen Fynyau.*¹ Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 414.² *Ibid.*³ Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 76, 77.

the title of archbishop was lost ever after to the successors of Sampson. But they long retained, beyond this period, that authority which had been usually annexed to the archiepiscopal dignity; and they acknowledged no dependency on the see of Canterbury, until the time of king Henry the first.¹

It is reported of Morgeneu, the thirty-third bishop of St. David, that having presumed to eat flesh contrary to the austere habits of the primitive fathers, he was afterwards murdered by pirates; and this was regarded by the superstitious Giraldus as the punishment of heaven for so heinous an offence.²

IN the reign of Henry the first, the see of St. David fell under the jurisdiction of Canterbury; the archbishop having consecrated to this see one Barnard, a Norman, and chaplain to Henry the first, without the consent of the clergy of Wales; in whom had uniformly remained the power of electing their bishops.³ The bishopric of St. David was valued in the exchequer at £426 : 2 : 1, and in the Pope's books at 1500 ducats.⁴

THERE is no mention of any bishop of Llandaff preceding the time of Dubricius; who was consecrated to that see by St. Germain.⁵ But that prelate was soon succeeded by St. Teilaw; he himself being translated to the see of St. David. St. Teilaw, the second bishop, was a person of noble birth, and was educated

¹ Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 76, 77. ² Ibid.

³ Welsh Chron. p. 175. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 418, 422. ⁴ Ibid. p. 423.

⁵ Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 423.

in one of those seminaries which had been instituted by St. German; he was slain by a nobleman in his own cathedral, where he was buried; and which church, after him, took the name of Llan Deilaw.¹ The dependency of this see on the archbishop of Canterbury is implied, by St. Dunstan's having consecrated Godwinus bishop thereof about the year nine hundred and eighty-two.² This bishopric was valued in the exchequer at £154:14:1, and paid to the Pope for first-fruits 700 ducats.³

A. D. 470. ABOUT this period a provincial council was held in Britain for the reformation of religion, and for repairing the ruined churches; both of which the marriage of Vortigern with a pagan princess had contributed to bring into decay.⁴

A. D. 522. AT this time, the establishment of the gospel among the Picts and Scots was considerably advanced, by the zeal and pious labours of St. Columba, an Irish monk.⁵

DANIEL, the son of Dynothus* the last abbot of Bangor in Flintshire, having founded a school in Caernarvonshire for the instruction of youth, gave to that place the name of Bangor;⁶ which some time after was erected into a bishopric, and was endowed with lands and franchises by Maelgwyn Gwynedd the king of North Wales.⁷ Daniel was consecrated to that see by Dubricius the archbishop of St. David.⁸

¹ Godwin's English Bishops, p. 423.

² Ibid. p. 425.

³ Ibid. p. 429.

⁴ Ibid. p. 429.

⁵ Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. I. p. 430.

* *Dinoeth*.

⁶ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

⁷ Ibid. p. 187.

⁸ Ibid. p. 184.

ST. KENTIGERN* abbot of Glasgow, and son to a princess of the Picts, having been obliged to quit Scotland, obtained licence to build a college at Llan Elwy in Flintshire;† at which place he instituted a bishop's see; and on his return into his own country, he appointed Afaph, his disciple, to succeed him; who gave his name to the present see of St. Asaph.‡

A. D.
590.

It does not appear that the clergy, in these early times, had any distinct *cures* or *parishes* where they resided; but they lived, together with their bishops, on the emoluments of the church, in collegiate bodies; in the same manner as at the great monastery of Bangor. In these colleges, the clergy were habituated to the exercises of reading and prayer; and were obliged to perform the offices of their function in those districts to which they were allotted by their bishops.‡ But during this period we do not find that there were many churches in the island; the places appointed for divine worship were chiefly a few scattered cloisters and oratories; where the minister of the district came at stated times to read, and to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments to the people.⁴ It is probable likewise that the nobility had chapels joined to their mansions, for the benefit of their own families and their surrounding dependents.⁵

THE church of Cambria had hitherto preserved her independency on Rome;⁶ and though the spirit of innovation had been

* *Cyndeyrn Garthbwy.* † Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 542. Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

‡ Camden's Britannia. § Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 143. ¶ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. p. 144. ⁶ Ibid. p. 149.

longer

longer opposed by the *British* than it had been by the *English* clergy, yet in the end, the Romish superstitions prevailed. There was one injunction, however, the *celibacy* of the clergy, which was resisted with a successful and an uniform firmness;¹ as a source of profligacy, as innovating on the rights of nature, and as violating the dearest interests of humanity.

IT has been already observed, that the Saxons, during their contest with the Britons, and for some time after they had established their dominion, adhered to the religion of their ancestors; and that christianity prevailed in very few places, except in those which still remained unsubdued by that fierce people.

DURING the reign of Ethelbert, the conversion of the Saxons was undertaken at the instigation of Gregory the bishop of Rome, by St. Austín or Augustine.² The supreme authority over the British church having been given to St. Austín by Gregory; and having received at his hand the *Pall*,³ as the ensign of his patriarchal dignity; that missionary resolved to make an experiment of its virtue, by attempting to exert a controuling power over the bishops in Cambria.⁴ There was a difference sub-

¹ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 149.

² Verstegan, chap. v. p. 142.

³ The Pall was a rich robe of state, very magnificent, and hanging down to the ground; it was a part of the imperial habit, and allowed to the bishop of Rome by the favour of one of the Roman emperors. The Pall was usually given to the patriarchs when that system of government first took place in the church.

⁴ Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffry Monmouth. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 6.

sisting at this time between the Cambrian church and that of Rome; in the observance of the sacrament of baptism, and of the ceremony of keeping Easter. To produce an uniformity in worship, and to establish his own supremacy, St. Austin obtained a meeting with some of the British clergy at Aust-Cliffe in Gloucestershire.¹ But not being impowered to concede to his demands, or remaining unconvinced by his arguments, the clergy referred the decision of the points in dispute to another more general conference.² To this assembly, which soon after ensued, were convened seven British bishops, and many learned men from the monastery of Bangor. St. Austin likewise appeared there, in all the pomp of spiritual insolence and pride; being ushered into the assembly by a singing procession, and with his banner and his cross displayed.³ The British deputies, before they came to the assembly, had consulted an *anchorite*; whether they should submit to the spiritual direction of St. Austin, or should preserve their native independency. This holy person advised them, if St. Austin followed the example of his *Master*, and conducted himself by a meek and humble spirit; that they should observe his rules, and submit to his authority; but if he demeaned himself with haughtiness, and despised their modest appearance, that they should then shew an equal disdain for him and his councils.⁴ Agreeably to this advice, the deputies

¹ Verstegan, chap. v. p. 142.

² Verstegan, chap. v. p. 142.

³ Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffry Monmouth. Godwin's English Bishops, p. 6.

⁴ Archbishop Usher, cap. III. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 5, & Geoff. Monmouth.

waited until St. Austin had taken his seat in the assembly; and when they made their appearance, the haughty prelate neither rose from his place, nor gave them any kind of salutation. Affronted at his arrogance and affected superiority, the British deputies firmly opposed him in every point of innovation; and told him, that though his opinions were grounded on the authority of Gregory, their doctrines had long since an equal sanction in the approbation of Eleutherius; that they would yield obedience to their own archbishop who resided at St. David, but would never submit to one whose person and language were as much unknown to them as were his sentiments and doctrines. When St. Austin found he could not gain upon the firmness of the clergy, he relaxed from his haughtiness; and desired that they would administer baptism, and would observe the ceremony of keeping Easter after the Romish manner; and that they would likewise assist him to complete the conversion of the Saxons.* But the British deputies continuing firm in their refusal on any terms to join with St. Austin, he solemnly denounced against them the judgment of God; predicted an impending calamity; and confidently assured them, that as they would not accept of peace with their Christian brethren, they would soon have war with their Pagan enemies; and that they would soon find death by the swords of *those*, to whom they had now refused to preach the word of life.³ These threats, denounced by a

* Archbishop Usher, cap. III. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 5, 6. Geoff. Monmouth.

2 Geoff. Monmouth. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 5, 6.

3 Rowland's Men. Ant. p. 151. Geoff. Monmouth.

mortified

mortified and irritated prelate, were soon after accomplished ; by the invasion of Ethelfrid, and by the defeat of the Britons at the battle of Chester ; with the massacre of eleven hundred and fifty *religious* who resided in the great monastery of Bangor.*

THOUGH this blow had nearly proved fatal to the *religious order*, it was eventually a permanent advantage to the church, having been the original cause of producing the institution of parishes, and of the residence of the clergy within those allotted districts. The seminary of Bangor having been entirely destroyed, after this defeat of the Britons ; and the Saxons having made their hostile advances to the banks of the Dee, it became necessary to provide for the safety of the clergy, by placing them at a greater distance from danger, in the interior parts of the country.² The urgency of the times contributed likewise to this salutary measure. A more immediate intercourse between the clergy and the people, and a keener vigilance in their pastors became necessary, when *superstition* was innovating upon the purity of the church, and was diffusing its errors with a zealous and persevering industry.³

ON the dispersion of the clergy from the monastery of Bangor, the greatest part of them had settled in North Wales ; and the remainder are supposed to have served, as a supply in the ministry of the church, in South Wales and in Armorica.⁴

* Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 26, says two thousand monks.

² Rowland, p. 151. Geoff. Monmouth.

³ Rowland, p. 151.

⁴ Ibid., p. 152. Matth. Westm. p. 150.

The bishops, and other men of eminence in the Cambrian church, with great industry and zeal, travelled through the country, exhorting the princes and the nobility to assist them in erecting cells and cloisters for the purposes of divine worship; in which places they fixed the subordinate clergy, who were to perform the functions of religion in their particular districts.* This was the origin of *residential tures*.

THERE is reason to suppose that the cells of these times, were originally erected equally for the dwellings of the priests, as for the purposes of religion; but at the same time they acquired a sacred estimation by being dedicated to the worship of God. The sites of the most ancient Welsh churches seem to favour this opinion; being usually found in desolate and unfrequented situations; and as such were more calculated for the solitary abode of *ascetics*, than for the general conveniency of religious assemblies.† To these churches, *wakes* or anniversary *feast* days were appointed, to the honour of the saints to whom they were dedicated. These *festivals* were usually celebrated either on the Sunday preceding, or on that immediately after the *saint's* day.‡

ABOUT this period three hundred and eleven parishes were established in North Wales; in the island of Anglesey there were seventy-four; in Caernarvonshire sixty-eight; in Mont-

* Rowland, p. 153.

† Rowland, p. 158.

‡ Ibid. p. 159.

gomeryshire forty-seven; in Denbighshire fifty-seven; in Flintshire twenty-eight; and in Merionethshire thirty-seven.¹

DURING the efforts of St. Austin to destroy the independency of the Cambrian church, the clergy were collected into different *conventual bodies*, perhaps a vestige of the druidical establishment, under the direction of their peculiar bishops.² In this season of danger, while an ambitious priesthood were attempting to establish a spiritual tyranny upon the weakness of human reason,³ all orders of people took the alarm. The nobility and the bards exerted their zeal on this occasion; and Taliesin,⁴ who flourished in that period, exercised his genius in poetry, to excite the vigilance and to animate the zeal of the British clergy. The innovating spirit of Rome made no progress as long as it was opposed by their united exertions. But after the massacre of the monks at Bangor, when the most distinguished of that body were slain, and the remainder were dispersed through the country; the fences of the Cambrian church being deserted or weakened, it became exposed to a series of evils, under which it suffered for many centuries.⁵

A. D.
600.

A. D.
600.

THE clergy, while they lived in colleges and were formed into *conventual bodies*, were supported by *tythes* and the voluntary oblations of the people. But when the pious zeal of the bishops, co-operating with the munificence of the nobles, had esta-

¹ Rowland, p. 152. ² Ibid. p. 149, 150. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Several of the poems of this bard are now extant in MSS.

⁵ Rowland, p. 149, 150.

blished

blished these *residential cures*; it was then necessary that the same rights and advantages should become a distinct property, and should be applied to the uses of particular parishes, as they had been heretofore claimed for the general service of the church.¹ The clergy being thus established in their respective cells, the people, who inhabited the neighbouring divisions of *bods* and *treus*, into which the country was at that time broken, associated under the spiritual guidance of their peculiar minister, and assigned for his particular maintenance, and as an endowment in future, the *tythes* of their land, and other ecclesiastical emoluments.² This union of several townships, when associated for the purposes of religion, and of forming a regular establishment for the maintenance of the church, originally constituted a *parish*.³ But the fervour of pious munificence abating in process of time, the *tythes* alone were found insufficient for the decent maintenance of the clergy; and it became necessary to consolidate several parishes, with their churches, into one *residential cure*; under the direction of a single priest or incumbent. By this alteration, the clergy were enabled to obtain, or to purchase *glebes* as the property of the respective incumbent; to attend with greater leisure the spiritual concerns of their parishes, to build houses for their particular habitations, and to reserve the churches for the sole uses of religious worship.⁴

It is reasonable to suppose from these pious exertions, that the parochial clergy were untainted with the general depravity,

¹ Rowland, p. 159.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Rowland, p. 159.

which is charged by Gildas upon the *conventual orders*, with a degree of monastic severity. Indeed it was not easy for the clergy of *collegiate bodies*, from their frequent intercourse with mankind, and being dispersed in the families of princes, to avoid the contagious influence of luxury. But these dangerous situations, and their consequent profligacy of manners, could have no effect upon the *residential priests*; who, residing in solitary abodes, sequestered from the ~~noises~~ *noises* or pleasures of the world, passed their lives in the austere piety and mortified habits of *religious recluses*.*

THE right of patronage of the bishoprics in Wales, originally belonged to the princes of Wales; upon the feudal idea of the sovereign being the lord paramount of landed property; and afterwards, when the different principalities became united by conquest to the English government, the patronages of the Welsh bishoprics were then annexed to the crown of England.†

THE clergy of Wales had hitherto preserved, with great firmness, an independency of the Romish church. About this period, however, they suffered *Elbodius* to be appointed by the Pope, archbishop of North Wales; who soon brought them to act in conformity to the Romish observance of Easter; a point on which the two churches had hitherto divided in opinion. The Britons, imitating the *Asiatics*, celebrated their *Easter* from

A. D.
762.

* Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 160, 161.

† Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, vol. I. p. 177, from Coke's Institutes.

the

the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the month; but the Romans, agreeably to the *Nicene* Council, kept that festival from the fifteenth to the twenty-first.* Thus, at length, did the christian world sink under the tyranny of the church of Rome; and, through a long succession of ages, the arts of an interested priesthood, by controuling the exertions of human genius, weakened the extension of its powers, debased its spirit, and almost annihilated its dignity and freedom.

* Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 68.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

*Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto Senescallus Cestria
Salutem: Sciatis quòd ego me constitui plegium, &c.*

TO all and singular to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto Steward of Chester sendeth greeting: Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Gruffyth the sonne of Lhwelyn, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our said souereigne lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Gruffyth hir husband and Owen his son out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Gruffyth, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale, Dated at Salop, the mundaie before the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 25. yeare of the reigne of the said King:

No. II.

Reuerendissimis in Christo patribus ac D. D. Roberto Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuar. totius Angliæ Primati, & Archiepiscopo Eborum, ac eorum Suffraganeis, &c.

TO the most reuerend fathers in Christ and Lord, Robert by the grace of God Archbishop of Canturburie, primate of England, and the Archbishop of Yerke, and

their Suffraganes, being now together at London in counsell: their deuout sonne Llewelyn Prince of Wales and lord of Snoudon, greeting with due obedience, reuerence, and honor in all things. Be it knowen to your reuerend Fatherhoods, that where heretofore contention and discord (whereof warre followed and long continued) arose betwixt the king of noble memorie Henrie king of England of the one partie, and vs of the other partie: the same contentions and strife were at the last appeased by the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, and meanes of the reuerend father lord Otobonus, Deacon and Cardinall of S. Adrian Legate into England: as it appeareth in the forme of treatie and peace betwixt the said king, and Edward his first begotten son, lord Edward now king of England, and their successors on the one partie: and vs and our successors on the other partie, by the corporall othes of both parties assured. Which forme of peace was committed to writing by the said Legate, with the seale of the said king, and the seale of the said lord Edward now king, and with our seale also. In the which peace it is contained amongst other things (which you doo well know as we beleue) that we and our successors should hold of the king and his successors the principalitie of Wales. So that all Welsh Barons should hold their Baronies and lands of vs and our successors in Capite, and should doo homage and fealtie to vs and to our heires (one Baron excepted) for the which we and our successors should doo homage and fealtie to the lord the king and his successors. It is further contained in the same peace, that neither the said king nor his successors, should receiue anie of our enemies, nor anie running awaie from vs, or our successors, nor should helpe or maintaine anie such against vs or our successors. The which all are contained in the forme of peace, the tenor whereof the reuerend Fathers of Strata Florida, and Aberconwey bearers hereof can shew you.

BUT see reuerend Fathers, the lord Edward now noble king of England, after the said peace taketh into his hands certeine Barons lands of Wales, of which they and their ancestors haue bene long possessed, and keepeth a Baronic in his hands which should be ours by the forme of peace: other Barons of our land being from vs fugitiues, running to him, he keepeth, helpeth and mainteineth; as Dauid ap Gruffyth, and Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, who purposed our death and destruction. Notwithstanding that since their departure they haue robbed within our land, committed slaughter, and burning of houses, and doo still daillie commit the like against the peace aforesaid: and although we haue often sent our greefes and complaints by our solemne messengers, to the said noble lord Edward, as well before he was king, as since, yet vnto this daie he neuer did anie redresse therein. Also that which is more perillous, he called vs vnto a place (not to vs safe) amongst our deadlie enemies, our fugitiues and felons and their spies and murderers, to doo him homage and fealtie: to the which place we can no waies come without danger of our bodie: especiallie seeing our enemies abouesaid be in that place at the king's table, and sometime in counsell, and openlie brag themselves. And though lawfull and reasonable excuses were alledged by our messengers, before the king and his counsell, why the place was not safe nor indifferent, yet he refused to allow or appoint anie other place indifferent for vs to doo our homage and fealtie: which we were and are readie to doo vnto him, in anie safe place by
him

him to be appointed, if he will appoint anie: and to performe the other articles of the peace concluded and sworne. And for that it pleased him not to come to anie place, where we could with safetie do him homage, we were suiters to him, to send anie from him to receiue our oth and homage, vntill it pleased him to appoint a place, where we shall doo our homage to him personallie, the which thing he vtterlie denied to doo.

We therefore beseech your Fatherhoods earnestlie, that it please you to consider what danger should happen to the people both of England and of Wales, by reason of the breach of the covenants of peace aboue said: if now warres and discord should follow, which God forbid: attending and calling to remembrance the prohibition of the holie father the Pope latelie in the counsell at Lions, that no warre should be mooued amongst Christians: least thereby the affaires of the holie land should be neglected: that it would please you also to helpe with your counsell with the lord and king, that he would vse vs and order vs according to the peace agreed vpon, the which we will no waie infringe. And if he will not harken to your counsell therein (which God forbid) that you will hold vs excused, for we will no waies as much as in vs lieth procure the trouble or disquietnes of the Realme. And if it may please you to giue credit to our messengers (which we doo send to the king at the daie by him vnto vs appointed) to alledge our lawful excuses in those things, which they by mouth shall on our part shew vnto you: resting to doo your will and pleasure, if it please you to write againe. Dated at Talybont the 6. daie of October; An. 1275.

No. III.

Certeine greefes sent from Lhewelyn, to the Archbischop: translated Word by Word out of the Records of the said Archbischop.

WHERE that it is contained in the forme of the peace, concluded as followeth.

1 If the said Lhewelyn will claime anie right in anie lands occupied by anie other than by the lord the king, without the said foure Cantreds, the said lord the king shall doo him full iustice, according to the lawes and customes of those quarters or parts, where the said lands doo lie. Which article was not obserued in the lands in Arustly, and betwixt the waters of Dyui and Dulas, for that when the said Lhewelyn claimed the said lands before the lord the king at Ruthlan, and the king granted him the cause to be examined according to the lawes and customes of Wales, and the aduocates of the parties were brought in, and the Iudges which vulgarlie they call Ynnayd, before the king, to iudge of the said lands according to the lawes of Wales. And the defendant appeared and answered so, that the same daie the cause ought to haue bene fullie determined according to the appointment of our lord the king. Who at his being

at Gloucester, had assigned the parties the said daie: and though the same cause was in diuers places often heard and examined before the Iustice, and that the lands were in Northwales, and neuer iudged but by the lawes of Wales, neither was it lawfull for the king but according to the lawes of Wales to proroge the cause; all that notwithstanding he proroged the daie (of his owne motion) contrarie to the said lawes. And at the last the said Llewelyn was called to diuers places, whither he ought not to haue bene called: neither could he obtaine iustice, nor anie iudgement, vnlesse it were according to the lawes of England, contrarie to the said article of the peace. And the same was doone at Montgomery, when the parties were present in iudgement, and a daie appointed to heare sentence, they proroged the said daie contrarie to the fore-said lawes: and at the last the king himselfe at London denied him iustice, vnlesse he would be iudged according to the English lawes in the said matter.

2 ALL iniuries, trespasses and faults on either part doone, be clearelie remitted vnto this present daie. This article was not kept; for that as soone as the lord Reginald Gray was made Iustice, he mooued diuers and innumerable accusations against the men of Tegengl and Ros, for trespasses doone in the time of king Henrie: when they bare rule in those parties, whereby the said men dare not for feare keepe their own houses.

3 WHERE as it was agreed that Rees Vachan ap Rees ap Maelgon shall enioie his possessions, with all the land which he now holdeth, &c. After the peace concluded he was spoiled of his lands of Geneu'rglyn which he then held, with the men and cattell of the same.

4 Also our lord the king granteth, that all tenants holding lands in the foure Cantreds, and in other places which the king holdeth in his owne hands, shall hold and enioie the same, as freelie as they did before the time of the warres, and shall vse the same libertys and customes, which they vsed before. Contrarie to this article, the lord Reginald Gray hath brought manie new customes against the forme of peace aforesaid.

5 ALL controuersies mooued, or to be mooued betwixt the Prince and anie other, shall be decided after the lawe of the marches (if they haue their beginning in the marches) and after the lawes of Wales, such as in Wales haue their beginning. Contrarie to this article, the king dooth and sendeth Iustices to Anglesey, who presume to iudge there the men and subjects of the Prince: setting fines vpon them, contrarie to the lawes of Wales, seeing neither this nor anie like was euer heard in times past; imprisoning some, outlawing others, when the Prince is at all times readie to doo iustice to all men that complaine vpon anie of his men.

6 WHERE it is in the peace, that Gruffyth Vachan should doo homage to the king for the land in Yale, and to the Prince for the land in Ederneon, the kings iustices brought the ladie of Maylor, into all the said lands of Edeyrneon. The knowledge

of which cause onelie pertained to the Prince, and not to the said Iustices: and yet for peace sake, the Prince did tollerate all this, being at all times readie to minister iustice to the said ladie.

7 AND though the said Prince submitted himselfe vnto vs and our will, yet we neuertheles will and grant, that our will in no case goo further, than is contained in those articles. Contrarie to this article, gold was exacted for the Queenes workes at everie paiement made to the king: which gold was neuer demanded in time of king Henrie, or anie other king of England. Which gold yet for quietnes sake the Prince paid, though it were not spoken of or mentioned in the peace. And now further it is exacted for the old Queene the kings mother that now is (for the peace concluded with king Henrie) 2000 marks and a halfe: and vnlesse it be paid, the king threatneth to occupie the goods and lands of Lhewelyn and his people, which he could find in his realme; and sell men and beafts vntill the said summe were paid.

8 ITEM when the king inuited the Prince to his feast at Worcester, promising with verie fair words, that he would giue his kinsewoman to him to wife, and enrich him with much honour: neuerthelesse when he came thither, the selfe same daie they should be married before Masse, the king required a bill to be sealed by the Prince; containing amongst other things that he would neuer keep man against the kings will, nor neuer mainteine anie, whereby it might come to passe, that all the Princes force should be called from him. The which letter sealed, he deliuered the king by iust feare, which might mooue anie constant man; yet was not this contained in the peace, whereas the conclusion of the peace was, that the king should require nothing that was not contained in the same.

9 ITEM where in the said peace all customes be confirmed to the said Prince, as his ancestors of long and dailie obserued custome haue receiued to their owne vse, all wrecks happening vpon his owne lands: the Iustice of Chester tooke a distresse of the Prince for goods of shipwrecke receiued by him before the warres, contrarie to the forme of the said peace. By the which all trespasses of either side were remitted; and contrarie to the customes before said: and if in case it were forfeited, yet he tooke such a distresse, fiftene pounds of honie, and manie horsses, and imprisoned his men. And this he tooke of the Princes owne proper goods, and further tooke booties of Bagiers which came to Lyrpoole with merchandize, and neuer redeliuered the same, untill he had taken so much monie for the same, as it pleased him.

10 ITEM when certeine men of Geneurglyn had taken certeine goods of some of their neighbours of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the Prince in Meyreon, the kings men of Lhanbadarn did take awaie the said goods out of the said dominion of the Prince: and when the prince his men came thither, and asked the cause why they tooke the said preie: the kings men killed one of them, and wounded other, and the rest they did imprison, neither could the prince get anie iustice for the said goods to this daie.

11 AND

11 AND where it is contained in the peace, that all things committed in the Marches, should be redressed in the Marches; yet the kings men would no where heare the princes men, but put them in the castell of Lhanbadarn: which is against the peace aforesaid. In these articles and diuers others, the king standeth sworne to the prince, and to his people. And although the prince as well by himselfe as by his people, haue often requested the king to cause the said peace to be kept, yet was it in no point kept, but daillie the kings Iustices doo more and more heape iniuries and griefs vpon the people of those parts. So that it can not be blamed, if the Prince did assent to them that first began the wars, seeing the oth which the lord Robert Typtost sware for the king, was kept in no point: and cheeflie seeing the prince was forewarned, that he should be taken so soone as the king came to Ruthlan, as he had beene in deede if the king had come thither after Christmasse, as he purposed.

No. IV. & VII.

These greefes folowing were done by the King and his Officers, to the Lord David ap Gruffyth.

WHEN the said Dauid came to the lord Edward then earle of Chester, and did him homage, the said lord Edward did giue by his letters patents to the said Dauid, two Cantreds, Dyffryncluyd, and Ceinmeyrdh, with all the appurtenances: afterward when he was made king he confirmed the said gift to the said Dauid, and gaue him possession of them. Then afterward Guenlhan Lacy died, who held some townes in the said Cantreds for terme of life: which after hir decease appertained to Dauid, by force of the foresaid grant, which townes yet the king tooke from him, contrarie to his letters patents.

2 ITEM, when the said Dauid did hold of the lord the king the villages of Hope and Elton in Wales, of the which he ought to answere no man, but according to the lawes of Wales, yet the Iustice of Chester caused the said Dauid to be called to Chester, at the sute of one William Venable an English man: to answere for the title of the said villages. And although the said Dauid did often and instantlie desire him the said Iustice not to proceed against him iniuriousslie in the countie of Chester, where he was not bound to answere by the forme of the peace: yet he plainlie denied him to be iudged either in Wales or after the lawes of Wales.

3 ITEM, the said Iustice of Chester to the iniurie of the said Dauid, did cut downe his wood of Lhyweny, and his woods at Hope, as well by the dwellers of Ruthlan, as others: and yet the said Iustice had no iurisdiction in those parts. And not being contented to get timber there, for building, as well for Ruthlan as other places in the countie, but also destroied the said woods, sold it, and carried it into Ireland.

4 ITEM,

4 **ITEM**, where the said Dauid tooke certaine outlawes and rousers in the woods, and caused them to be hanged: yet the said Iustice accused Dauid to the king, for succoring and mainteining the theeues aforesaid: which was not like to be true seeing he caused them to be hanged.

5 **ITEM**, it is provided in the peace, that all Welshmen in their causes should be iudged after the lawes of Wales. This was in no point obserued with the said Dauid and his people. Of these foresaid greefs the said Dauid required often amends, either according to the lawes and customes of Wales, or of speciall fauour: but he could neuer obtaine anie of them both at his hands. Further, the said Dauid was warned in the kings court, that assoone as Reginald Gray should come from the court, the said Dauid should be taken and spoiled of his castell of Hope, his woods should be cut downe, and his children taken for pledges: who seeing he had taken much paines and perill for the king in all his warres as well himselfe as his people, both in England and in Wales, and had lost thereby the most part of the nobilitie of his countrie, and yet neuerthelesse could obtaine neither iustice, amends, nor fauour at his hands, hauing such great wrongs offered vnto him, and fearing his owne life and his childrens, or else perpetuall prison, being enforced, as it were against his will, began to defend himselfe and his people.

No. V.

Articles sent from the Archbischop of Canturburie, to be intimated to Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and the People of the same Countrie.

BECAUSE we came to those parts for the spirituall and temporall health of them whom we haue euer loued well, as diuers of them haue knowne.

2 **THAT** we come contrarie to the will of our Lord the king, whom our said comming (as it is said) dooth much offend.

3 **THAT** we desire and beseech them, for the bloud of our lord Iesus Christ, that they would come to an vnitie with the English people, and to the peace of our lord the king, which we intend to procure them so well as we can.

4 **WE** will them to vnderstand, that we cannot long tarrie in these quarters.

5 **WE** would they considered, that after our parting out of the countrie, they shall not perhaps find anie that will so tender the preferring of their cause, as we would doo, if it pleased God (with our mortall life) we might procure them an honest, stable and firme peace.

6 **THAT**;

6 THAT if they doo contemne our petition and labour, we intend forthwith to signifie their stubbernes to the high bishop, and the court of Rome: for the enormitie that manie waies hapneth by occasion of this discord this daie.

7 LET them know, that vnlesse they doo quicklie agree to a peace, that warre shall be aggrauated against them, which they shall not be able to sustaine, for the kings power increaseth dailie.

The greater
cause the more
love.

8 LET them vnderstand that the realme of England is vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome: that the sea of Rome loueth it better than anie other kingdome.

9 THAT the said sea of Rome will not in anie wise see the state of the realme of England quaile, being vnder speciall protection.

10 THAT we much lament to heare that the Welshmen be more cruell then Saracens: for Saracens, when they take christians they keepe them to be redeemed for monie. But (they saie) that the Welshmen by and by doo kill all that they take, and are onelie delighted with blood, and sometime cause to be killed them whose ran-some they haue receiued.

11 THAT whereas they were euer woont to be esteemed, and to reuerence God and Ecclesiasticall persons, they seeme much to reuolt from that deuotion: moouing fedition and warre, and committing slaughter, and burning in the holie time. Which is great iniurie to God, wherein no man can excuse them.

12 WE desire, that as true christians they would repent, for they cannot long continue their begun discord, if they had sworne it.

13 WE will that they signifie vnto vs, how they will or can amend the trouble of the kings peace, and the hurt of the common wealth.

14 THAT they signifie vnto vs how peace and concord may be established: for in vaine were it to forme peace, to be dailie violated.

15 IF they saie that their lawes or couenants be not obserued, that they doo signifie vnto vs which those be.

16 THAT granting it that they were iniured, as they saie, (which we no waies doo know) they which were Iudges in the cause might so haue signified to the king's maiestie.

17 THAT vnlesse they will now come to peace, they shall be resisted by decree and censure of the church, besides warre of the people.

No. VI.

To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods grace Archbishop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, his Humble and deuout Sonne Llewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth Greeting.

WITH all reuerend submission and honor we yeeld our most humble and hartie thanks vnto your fatherhood, for the great and greuous paines which at this present for the loue of vs and our nation you haue sustained: and so much the more we are beholden vnto you, for that besides the kings pleasure you would venture to come vnto vs. In that you request vs to come to the kings peace, we would haue your holinesse to know that we are most readie and willing to the same, so that our lord the king will duellie and trulie obserue and keepe the peace towards vs and ours. Moreover, although we would be glad of your continuance in Wales, yet we hope there shall not be any delaie in vs but that peace (which of all things we most desire and wish for) may be forthwith established, and rather by your trauell and procurement than by any other mans: so that it shall not be needefull to complaine vnto the Pope of our wilfulnes: neither do we despise your fatherhoods requests and painefull trauell, but with all hartie reuerence according to our dutie do accept the same. Neither yet shall it be needefull for the lord the king to vse anie force against vs, seeing we are redie to obeie him in all things, our rights and lawes (as aforesaid) reserved. And although the kingdome of England be vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome, and with speciall loue regarded of the same: yet, when the lord the Pope and the court of Rome shall vnderstand of the great damages which are done vnto vs by the Englishmen, to wit, the articles of the peace concluded and sworne vnto, violated and broker, the robbing and burning of churches, the murthering of ecclesiasticall persons, as well religious as secular; the slaughter of women great with child, and children sucking their mothers breasts: the destroing of hospitals, and houses of religion, killing the men and women professed in the holie places, and euen before the alters: we hope that your fatherhood, and the said court of Rome will rather with pittie lament our case, than with rigour of punishment augment our sorrow. Neither shall the kingdome of England be in anie wise disquieted or molested by our meanes (as is affirmed) so that we may haue the peace dulie kept and obserued towards vs and our people. Who they be, which are delited with bloodshed and warre, is manifestlie apparant by their deedes and behaiour; for we would liue quietlie vpon our owne if we might be suffered, but the Englishmen comming to our countrie did put all to the sword, neither sparing sex, age or sicknesse, nor any thing regarding churches or sacred places, the like whereof the Welshmen neuer committed. That one haping paid his ransome was afterward slaine, wee are right sorie to heare of it, neither do we maintaine the offender, who escaping our hands keepeth himselfe as an outlaw in the woods and vnknown places. That some began the warre in a time not meete and

conuenient, that vnderstood not we of vntill now: and yet they which did the same do affirme, that in case they had not done as they did at that time, they had benee slaine or taken themselues, being not in safetie in their owne houses, and forced continuallie for safeguard of their liues to keepe themselues in armour: and therefore to deliuer themselues from that feare, they tooke that enterprise in hand. Concerning those things which we commit against God: with the assistance of his grace, we will (as it becommeth Christians) repent and turne vnto him. Neither shall the war on our part be continued, so that we be saued harmlesse and may liue as we ought: but before we be disinherited or slaine we must defend our selues as well as we may. Of all iniuries and wrongs done by vs, we are most willing and readie (vpon due examination and triall of all trespasses and wrongs committed on both sides) to make amends to the vttermost of our power: so that the like on the kings side be performed in like manner towards vs and our people: and to conclude and stablsh a peace we are most readie: but what peace can be established when as the kings charter so solemnlie confirmed, is not kept and performed? Our people are daillie oppressed with new exactions: we send vnto you also a note in writing of the wrongs and iniuries which are done vnto vs contrarie to the forme of the peace before made. We haue put our selues in armour, being driuen therevnto by necessitie: for we and our people were so oppressed, troden vnder foote, spoiled, and brought to slauerie by the kings officers, contrarie to the forme of the peace concluded against iniustice, none otherwise than if we were Saracens or Iewes: whereof we haue often times complained vnto the king and neuer could get anie redresse: but alwaies those officers were afterwards more fierce and cruell against vs. And when those officers through their rauine and extortion were enriched, other more hungrie than they were sent a fresh to flea those whom the other had shorne before: so that the people wished rather to die than liue in such oppression. And now it shall not be needeful to leuie anie armie to war vpon vs, or to moue the prelates of the church against vs, so that the peace may be obserued duellie and trulie, as before is expressed. Neither ought your holie fatherhood to giue credit to all that our aduersaries do allege against vs: for euen as in their deeds they haue and do oppresse vs, so in their words they will not sticke to slander vs, laieng to our charge what liketh them best. Therefore, for asmuch as they are alwaies present with you, and we absent from you, they oppressing, and we oppressed, we are to desire you euen for his sake from whom nothing is hid, not to credit mens words but to examine their deeds. Thus we bid your holines farewell. Dated at Garth Celyn, in the feast of S. Martine.

No. VIII.

Greefs and Iniuries offered by the King and his Officers to the Men of Ros.

THIS is the forme of peace, which the king of England did promise the men of Ros before they did him homage, which he promised them to obserue inuiolablie.

That

That is to saie, the king should grant to euerie of them their right and iurisdiction, as they had in time of king Henrie, according as the said men doo report that they had in the time of king Henrie.

2 ITEM, the lord the king did promise the said men, that they should haue iustice in their sutes: after granting of the which articles, the said men did homage to the king. And then the king promised them with his owne mouth faithfullie to obserue the said articles. This notwithstanding, a certeine noble man passing by the kings hie waie, with his wife in the kings peace, met certeine English laborers and mafons going to Ruthlan where they did then worke: who attempted by force to take awaie his wife from him, and while he defended hir as well as he could, one of them killed the wife, and he who killed hir with his fellowes were taken: and when the kinred of hir which was flaine required lawe at the Justice of Chesters hands (for their kinswoman) they were put in prison, and the murtherers were deliuered.

3 ITEM, a certeine man killed a Gentleman who had killed the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn and was taken: but when certaine of the kinred required iustice before the Justice of Chester, certeine of them were imprisoned, the offender set at libertie, and iustice denied to the kinred.

4 ITEM, certeine Gentleman claimed some lands, and offered the king a great peece of monie, to haue iustice by the verdict of good and lawfull men of the countrie (then the lands being adiudged to the claimers) Reginald Gray tooke the same lands, corne, goods, and all vpon the ground, so that they lost their lands, monie, corne and cattell.

5 ITEM, it is our right that no Kranger should cut our woods without our leaue: yet this notwithstanding there was a proclamation at Ruthlan, that it should be lawfull for all other men to cut downe our woods, but to vs it was forbidden.

6 ITEM, where diuerse honest men had lands of the gift of the said Dauid, the Justice taketh the said mens lands awaie.

7 ITEM, when anie commeth to Ruthlan with merchandize, if he refuse whatsoever anie English man offereth, he is forthwith sent to the castell to prison, and the buier hath the thing, and the king hath the price: then the soldiours of the castell first spoile and beate the partie, and then cause him to pay the porter, and let him go.

8 ITEM, if anie Welshmen buie anie thing in Ruthlan, and anie English man doo meet him, he will take it from him, and giue him lesse than he paid for it.

9 ITEM, the king contrarie to his promise made to the men of Ros, hath giuen the territorie of Maynan, Penmayn, and Lhysuayn.

10 ITEM, Certaine Gentlemen of the Cantred of Ros bought certeine offices, and paid their monie for the same: yet the Iustice of Chester tooke the said offices from them without cause.

See this Article again, page 577. 11 ITEM, Grono ap Heilyn tooke to ferme of Godfrey Marliney, the territorie of Maynan and Lhyfuayn, for the terme of foure yeares: yet Robert de Cruquer with horses and armes and foure and twentie horsemen, came to vexe the said Grono, so that he had no safe going, neither to Ruthlan nor Chester, without a great garrison of his kindred and freends.

12 ITEM, certeine Gentlemen were arrested for trespasses done before the warres and imprisoned, and could not be deliuered vntill they had paid xvi. markes, which was contrarie to the peace concluded.

13 ITEM, our causes ought to be decided after the custome of our lawes; but our men be compelled to sweare against their consciences, else they be not suffered to sweare: furthermore we spent three hundredth markes in going to the king for iustice in the foresaid articles. And when we beleaved to recouer full iustice, the king sent to our parties the lord Reginald Gray, to whom the king hath set all the lands to ferme, to handle the men of the said Cantreds as it pleaseth him: who compelled vs to *sweare in his name, whereas we should sweare in the kings name. And where the kings crosse ought to be erected, he caused his crosse to be erected, in token that he is the verie true lord: and the said lord Reginald at his first comming to those parts of Wales, sold to certeine seruants of the king, offices for lx. markes, which the said seruants bought before of the king for xxiiij. markes: which offices ought not to be sold at the choise of the lord.

14 ITEM, the king gaue Meredyth ap Madoc a captaineishp for his seruice, Reginald Gray tooke it from him: neither could he get anie remedie at the kings hands for the same.

15 ITEM, one of the counsell of the said Reginald, Cynwric Vadhan told vs by mouth, that as soone as the said Reginald Gray returned to Wales he would take xxiiij. men of everie Cantered, and either behead them or imprison them perpetuallie.

16 ITEM, whereas we paid our taxes and rents in old monie half a yeare before the comming of new monie, they inforced vs to paie new monie for the old.

THESE greefes and the like, the said Reginald offered vs, and threatned that if we would send anie to the king to complaine he would behead them: and when we sent anie to the king, he could neuer speake with the king, but spent vs much monie in

* To sweare by his hand, whereas we should sweare by the hand of the king.

vaine. For which greeses we beleue our selues free before God, from the oth which we haue made to the king.

No. IX.

These Greeses folowing, the King and his Iustices offered to Rees Vachan of Stratywy.

AFTER that the said Rees gaue the king his castell of Dynenowr, sithence the last peace, the said Rees then being in the tent of the lord Payne de Gadersey, at the same time there were slaine fixe Gentlemen of the said Reeses men, for whom they neuer had amends, which was to him great greese and losse.

2 ITEM, Iohn Gifford claimed the said Reeses inheritance at Hiruryn, and the said Rees requested the lawe of his countrie of the king, or the lawe of the countie of Caermardhen, in the which countie the ancestors of the said Rees were woont to haue lawe: when they were of the peace of the Englishmen, and vnder their regiment; but the said Rees could haue no lawe, but lost all his lands. They would haue had him to answer in the countie of Hereford, where none of his ancestors euer answered. Further in the lands of the said Rees were such enormities committed, which doo most apperteine to the state ecclesiasticall: that is to saie in the church of S. David, which they call Lhangadoc, they made stables, and plaid the harlots, and tooke awaie all the goods of the said church, and burning all the houses, wounded the preest of the said church before the high altar, and left him there as dead.

3 ITEM, in the same countrie they spoiled and burnt the churches of Dyngad, Lhantredaff, and other churches in other parts: they spoiled their chalices, books, and all other ornaments and goods.

No. X

These be the Greeses which the King and his Iustice gave to Ebrewelyn ap Rees and Howel ap Rees.

AFTER that a forme of peace was concluded betwixt Henric then king of England, and the prince of Wales, the said king granted and confirmed by his charter to the said Prince the homage of the said noble men, so long as they stood freends with the prince, according to the said gift and confirmation: but Edward now king disherited the said Gentlemen of their lands, so that they could not haue their owne lands, neither by law nor by fauour.

No. XL

No. XI.

These be the Greefes done by the Englishmen, to the Sonnes of Meredyth ap Owen.

AFTER that the king had granted the Gentlemen their owne inheritance of Geneurglyn and Creuthyn, he contrarie to the peace disherited the said Gentelmen: denieng them all lawes and customes of Wales, and of the countie of Caermardhyn.

2 THE said king in his countie of Caerdigan by his said Iustices compelled the said Gentelmen to give iudgment vpon themselves: where their predecessors neuer suffered the like of Englishmen.

3 THE said Iustices of the king haue taken awaie the courtes of the noblemen in Wales, and compelled the people to satisfie before them for trespasses: when as they ought to haue satisfied by the said nobles.

4 WHEN a wreeke hapneth vpon anie of the grounds of the noble men, whose ancestors had wreeke, they should haue the same: yet the king forbiddeth them, and the said king by color of that shipwreeke contrarie to their custome and lawe did condemne them in eight markes, and tooke away all the goods of the shipwreeke.

5 THAT none of our men of the countie of Caerdigan dare come amongst the Englishmen, for feare of imprisonment: and if it had not beene for feare of hurt, the nobles would neuer haue stirred.

No. XII.

The complaints of the noble Men of Stratalyn, of the Wrongs and Greefes doone to them, by Roger Clifford, and Roger Scrochill Deputie to the said Roger Clifford: contrarie to the Priuilege, Iustice and Custome of the said noble Men, as they saie and prooue.

WHEN the said Roger compelled the said men of Stratylyn to giue them (to haue their customes and priuileges) twentie marks sterling, and after the paiement of the monie, they brake by and by after this sort, to put vpon twelue men according to the lawes of England, which was neuer the manner nor custome of the said countie.

2 ITEM, Madoc ap Blethyn was condemned in foure markes vniustlie, contrarie to the lawes and vse of the countie.

3 ITEM, Grono Goch was likewise condemned in six marks and twelve beasts, contrarie to the custome of the countrie.

4 ITEM, the said Roger took the lands of the men of the countrie as forfeyt: and for one foote of a stag found in a dogs mouth, three men were spoiled of all that they had.

5 ITEM, Ithel ap Gwyffy was condemned in a great sum of monie, for the fact of his father done fourtie yeares before.

6 ITEM, the said Roger laid vpon vs the finding of all the English soldiours, whereof before there was but one halfe.

7 ITEM, we were giuen to maister Maurice de Crany, and were sold to Roger Clifford: which was neuer seene in our parents time.

8 ITEM, the widow of Robert of the Mowld asked of the king the third part of the land in the Mowld in ward: whereas it was iudged before the king, that the said lands were neuer giuen in ward.

NO. XIII.

These be the Articles of Greefes doone to the Men of Penllyn, by the Constable of Henrie Chambers of the white Abbie, and his Men.

CYNWRIC AP MADOC was spoiled by them in time of peace, of eight pound, foure oxen, corne the worke of one plough for two yeares, and to the value of three pound, of three of his men, and they had the worth of xvi. pound for the said eight pound, and did beate him besides: which was more wrong, for then he was the princes constable at Penllyn. And all the cause that they pretended to make this spoile, was onelie that they said they had found foure and twentie sheafes of tyth in the house of a seruant of the said Cynwric.

2 ITEM, Adam Criwr was condemned in eight shillings eight pence, and a mare, price twentie shillings, and was taken and beaten, for that he had taken the stealer of that mare, and brought him bound with him, the which theefe was forthwith deliuered.

3 ITEM, Iorwerth ap Gargeneu was condemned in foure pound, for that he had escaped out of their prison in time of the warres, and was found in the said towne in the time of peace, and this is directlie against the peace concluded betwixt the king and the Prince.

4 ITEM,

4 ITEM, Caduan Dhu seruant to the constable of Penllyn was condemned, bicause he would not receiue the old monie for new.

5 ITEM, Gruffyth ap Grono the Princes man was spoiled of an ox, price eleuen shillings eight pence, and after that the constable had plowed with the said ox seuen monthes, he paid to the said Gruffyth for the said ox, three shillings foure pence.

6 ITEM, two seruants of one named Y Bongam were spoiled of two pounds, for that they tooke a theefe that robbed them by night, and yet the theefe was deliuered.

7 ITEM, Encon ap Ithel was taken, beaten, and spoiled of two oxen, price foure and twentie shillings and two pence, for this cause onelis, that the said oxen went from one streete to an other in the towne.

8 ITEM, Guyan Maystran was spoiled of his monie, because a certeine merchant of Arduwy owed them certeine things, and yet the said merchant was not of their bailiwick.

No. XIV.

The Greefes of Grono ap Heilyn.

A TENANT of Grono ap Heilyn was called to the kings court without anie cause: then Grono came at the daie appointed to defend his tenant, and demanded iustice for him, or the law which the men of his countrie did vse: all this being denied, the said tenant was condemned in seuen and twentie pound, i. d. ob. Then the said Grono went to London for iustice, which was promised him, but he could neuer haue anie, where he spent in his iourne fiftene markes.

2 A CERTEINE Gentleman was slaine, who had fostered the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn, and he that killed him was taken and brought to Ruthlan castell: then the said Grono and the kindred of him that was slaine asked iustice, but some of them were imprisoned, and the killer discharged. Then Grono went againe to London for iustice, which the king did promise him, but he neuer had anie, but spent twentie markes.

3 THE third time Grono was faine to go to London for iustice in the premisses: where he spent xvij. markes, vj. s. viij. d. And then likewise the king promised him that he should haue iustice: but when he certeinlie beleued to haue iustice, then Reginald Gray came to the countrie and said openlie, that he had all doings in that countrie by the kings charters: and tooke away all Bailiwicks, which the king had giuen the said Grono and sold them at his pleasure: then the said Grono asked iustice of the said Reginald, but he could not be heard.

4 THE

4 THE said Grono tooke to ferme for foure yeares of Godfrey Marliney, Maynan and Lhysfayn, then Robert Cruquer came with his horffes and armes to get the said lands by force, and for that Grono would not suffer him to haue the said lands before his yeares came out, he was called to the law, and then the said Reginald Gray came with xxliij. horffemen, to take the said Grono. And for that they could not that daie haue their purpose, they called Grono the next daie to Ruthlan: and then Grono had counsell not to go to Ruthlan. Then they called him againe to answere at Caerwys, but the said Grono durst not go thither, but by the conduct of the bishop of S. Asaph, for that Reginald Gray was there and his men in harnesse.

5 For these greefes for the which he could get no iustice, but labour and expenses, of liij. markes and more, and for that he durst not in his owne perfon go to the court, he sent letters, one to the king, an other to his brother Lhwelyn, to signifie to the king that he should loose all the fauour of the countrie, if he kept no promise with them, and so it came to passe, because the men of Ros and Englefeld could get no iustice, the king neglecting the correction of these things, lost the whole countrie.

No. XV.

Humble sheweth to your Holines, Lord Archbishop of Canturbarie, Primate of all England, the noble Men of Tegengl: that when the said noble Men did their Homage to the Lord Edward, King of England, the said King promised them to defend them and their Goods; and that they should vse all Kind of Right, Priuilege, and Iurisdiction, which they did vse in Time of King Henrie, of the Graunt of the said King, whereof they were after spoiled.

FIRST they were spoiled of their right and priuileges and customes of the countrie: and were compelled to be iudged by the lawes of England, whereas the tenor of that their priuilege was to be iudged according to the lawes of Wales at Tref Edwyn, at Ruthlan, and at Caerwys, and the best men of the countrie were taken, bicause they desired to be iudged at Tref Edwyn, according to the tenor of their priuileges, by the awes of Wales.

2 WHATSOEVER one Iustice dooth, his successor dooth reuerse the same: for in Dauids cause Reginald Gray reuoked that, which his predecessor confirmed and allowed.

3 If he doo take anie Gentleman of the countrie, he will not let him go vpon suertie, which he ought to doo.

4 If anie Gentleman be brought to the castell of the Flynt, vpon small accusation, and his cattell withall; they can neither be deliuered, nor haue delaie, vntill they giue the

confable an owe, and vntill they paie three pound fees to Cynwric for the hauing of the delaie.

5 REGINALD GRAY gaue the lands of the men of Merton to the Abbot and couent of Basingwerke, against the lawes of Wales and the custome of the countrie, and contrarie to the forme of the peace betwixt prince Lhewelyn and the king; that is to saie, xvi. Caratatas terræ.

6 THE noble and best of the countrie be iniured, for that the king builded the castell of Flynt vpon their ground: and the king commanded the Iustices to giue the men as much and as good ground or the price. But they are spoiled of their lands, and haue neither other lands nor monie.

7 REGINALD GRAY will not suffer men to cut their owne wood, vntill he haue both monie and reward, and vntill they paie for it also; but permitteth others to cut it downe freelic, which they ought not to do by the lawes and customes of Wales.

8 WHERE the men of Cyrchynan couenant with the king to giue the king halfe a meadow, of condition the king should not suffer the woods to be cut downe, Howel ap Gruffyth being present: yet Reginald Gray hath broken the same, permitting euerie man to cut their woods, and spoile them also of their medowe.

9 THE sonne of Cynwric ap Grono was taken at Ruthlan, and put in prison without anie cause at all: neither would the kings officers deliuer him, vnlesse he would redeeme the gage of a certeine woman, for the which he was constrained to paie much more than the pawne laie for.

10 WHEN the bailiffe of Ruthlan was at a feast, Hicken le Maile wounded a Gentleman cruellie in the presence of the said bailiffe: by the occasion of which wound, Hicken was condemned in eight pound, and when he which was hurt would haue demanded the said eight pound, he was put in prison with Hicken.

11 THE messengers of Reginald Gray attempted an absurditie not heard of, requiring the people of the countrie to plow his ground, and sowe the same: and the messengers were Cynwric Says and Hicken Lemayl, and the said Cynwric sware openlie before the whole companie, that vnlesse all men should plow Reginald Grayes ground, they should shortlye repent it: then the people feared much, as in that case anie constant man would feare.

12 THE heires of Tegengl bought their offices for xxx. markes of the king. But afterward Reginald Gray spoiled them of their offices and monie, against the lawes and customes of England.

13 SEAVEN Gentlemen were wrongfullie killed by the Englishmen, but as yet the parents of the Gentlemen can haue no amends: and though the offenders were taken, yet the said constable let them go without punishment.

14 THE constable of Ruthlan kept two of the kings soldiours in prison, for that they tooke an Englishman, who had wounded a man.

ALL these things contained in these articles are contrarie to the priuilege, libertie and right of the said men, and contrarie to the lawes and customes of Wales: neither dare the inhabitants send their complaints to the king for feare of Reginald Gray (which feare anie constant man might haue) because the said Reginald Gray said openlie, that if he could come by anie such their messengers, he would cut off their heads, as it is certeinlie told vs by one of his counsell: further neither toong can expresse, nor penna can write, how euill the men of Tegengl haue beene ordered.

HUMBLIE complaineth vnto your lordship, my lord Archbishop of Canturburie Primate of all England, Lhwelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc, of the constable of Oswaldes Crofte, the king and of the men of that towne, who haue spoiled the said Lhwelyn of the third part of a towne called Lhedrot, and his fathers house without anie law, or right, or custome of the countrie. Further the said Constable and his complices haue against the lawes and the custome of the countrie spoiled the said Lhwelyn of the common and pasturage, which he and his predecessors haue had and vsed time out of mind: and further condemned the said Lhwelyn for the said pasture in lxx. markes. And further the king of England granted certeine letters to a bastard called Gruffyth Vachan of Cynlhaeth, to law with the said Lhwelyn for his whole lordship and possessions; by the occasion of the which letters, the said Lhwelyn hath spent two hundredth pound of good monie.

Lhwelyn
ap Gruffyth
ap Madoc.

Also the said Constable compelled the said Lhwelyn to send two of his Gentlemen to him, whom when they came to him he caused to be hanged, which Gentlemen ought not by right to haue been hanged, whose parents had rather haue giuen him three hundredth pounds.

AFTERWARD the said Constable imprisoned threescore of the men of the said Lhwelyn (no cause alledged) but that a certeine Page spake a word: who could not be deliuered out of prison, vntil euerie of them paid ten shillings.

WHEN the men of the said Lhwelyn came to the said towne to sell their oxen, the said Constable would cause the beasts to be driuen to the castell: neither would he restore the beastes nor monie for them. Further, the said Constable and his men tooke awaie the cattell of the said Lhwelyn from his owne ground, and did their will with them.

FURTHER the kings Iustices compelled the said Lhwelyn, contrarie to the law and custome of Wales, to deliuer to the sonnes of Eneon ap Gruffyth, a certeine towne which both he and his ancestors euer had held. The said Constable tooke the horſſe of Lhwelyns Bailiff: when the said Bailiff owed him nothing, who could neuer get his horſſe againe, nor anie ſatisfaction for it.

FURTHERMORE when the said Lhwelyn should haue gone to a towne called Caer-lhëon to appeare there as he was appointed, the sonnes of Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, and the soldiours of Roger Strainge, by the counsell of the said Roger, tooke the said Lhwelyn and his men, and imprisoned them, to their great damage; which the said Lhwelyn would not for 300. pound ſtarling, who could by no meanes be deliuered, vntill they had found ſufficient ſuerties.

THE Archbishop receiuing theſe and other articles, came to the king, and requested him to conſider theſe wrongs, and to cauſe amends to be made, or at the leaſt excuſe the Welſhmen hauing ſo iuſt cauſe of greefe. Who answered that the Welſhmen were to be excuſed: yet he ſaid he was euer readie to doo iuſtice to all them that complained. Wherevpon the Archbishop beſought the king againe, that the Welſhmen might haue free acceſſe to his Grace to declare their greefes, and to ſeek remedie: the king answered they ſhould freeſie come and depart, if it ſhould ſeeme that by iuſtice they deſerued to depart.

THE Archbishop hearing this, went and came to the Prince of Wales in Snowdon, that he might moouie him and his brother Daudi, and the other companie to ſubmit themſelues: whereby he might incline the king to admit them. Which after much talke and conference with the Archbishop, the Prince answered that he was readie to ſubmit himſelfe to the king, reſeruing two things: that is to ſay, his conſcience, which he ought to haue for the rule and ſafegard of his people: and alſo the decencie of his ſtate and calling. Which anſwere the Archbishop brought, and reported to the king. At the which the king ſaid, that he would not anie other treatie of peace, than that the Prince and his people ſhould ſimplie ſubmit themſelues. But the Archbishop (knowing well that the Welſhmen would not ſubmit themſelues but in the forme aforeſaid, or in other forme to them tollerable and of them liked) requested the king, that he might haue conference in this matter with all the noble Engliſhmen then preſent: who after ſuch conference agreed all to theſe articles following. The which articles the Archbishop did ſend in writing to the Prince, by Iohn Wallenſis.

*Conſcientia
de ſaluta
populi.
2. Decorum.*

No. XVI.

Theſe are to be ſaid to the Prince before his Councell.

FIRST, that of the foure Cantreds and the lands by the king giuen to his nobles, and the Iſle of Angleſey, he will haue no treatie of.

2 ITEM,

2 ITEM, of the tenants of the foure Cantreds if they will submit themselves, he purpofeth to doo as becommeth a kings majestie: and we verelie beleue he will deale with them mercifullie, and to that end we will labour and trust to obtaine.

3 As touching the lord Lhwelyn we can haue none other answer, but that he shall submit himselfe simplie to the king: and we beleue certeinlie he will deale mercifullie with him, and to that end we trauell all we can, and verilie beleue to be heard.

No. XVII.

These following are to be said to the Prince in Secret.

FIRST, that the nobilitie of England haue conceiued this forme of fauorable peace, that the lord Lhwelyn should submit himselfe to the king: and the king should honorable provide for him a thousand pound starling, and some honorable countie in England. So that the said Lhwelyn would put the king in quiet possession of Snowdon: and the king will provide honorable for the daughter of Lhwelyn, according to the state and condecencie of his owne bloud, and to these they hope to persnade the king.

2 ITEM, if it happen that Lhwelyn marrie a wife, and to haue by hir anie heire male, they trust to intreate the king, that the same heire male and his heires for euer shall haue the same thousand pound and countie.

3 ITEM, to the people subiect to the said Lhwelyn the king will provide, as becommeth their estates and condition, and to that the king is well inclined.

No. XVIII.

These are to be said to David Brother to Lhwelyn in Secret.

FIRST, that if for the honor of God (Iuxta debitum crucis assumptæ) he will go to the holie land, he shall be provided for according to his degree, so that he doo not returne, vnlesse he be called by the king: and we trust to entreat the king, to provide for his child.

2 AND these things we tell our selues to the Welshmen, that a great deale greater perill dooth hang ouer them, than we told them by mouth when we were with them: these things which we write seeme greuous, but it is a great deale more greuous to be oppressed with armes, and finallie to be rooted out, bicause euerie daie more and more their danger dooth increafe.

3 ITEM,

A P P E N D I X.

3 ITEM, it is more hard to be alwaies in warre, in anguish of mind, and danger of bodie, alwaies fought and besieged, and so to die in deadlie sinne, and continuall rancor and malice.

4 ITEM, we feare (whereof we be forie) vnlesse you doo agree to peace, we most certeinlie will aggrauate the sentence Ecclesiasticall against you for your faults: of the which you can not excuse yourselues, whereas yee shall find both grace and mercie, if you will come to peace.

And send vs your answer of these in writing.

No. XIX.

To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods Grace Archbishop of Canturburie, and Primate of all England, his obedient Sonne Llewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth greeting.

MOST hartily with all reuerence and honor we are content and readie holie father as you haue counselled vs, to submit our selues vnto the kings Grace, so it be in that forme that shall be safe and honest for vs: but because that forme of submission contained in the articles which were sent vnto us, is neither safe, nor honest, as we and our counsell do thinke (at the which articles all men do maruell:) tending rather to the destruction of vs and our people, than anie securitie and honest dealing, we may in no wise yeeld our assent vnto it, and if we should so doo, our nobles and people would not agree to the same, knowing the mischeefe and inconuenience that is like to ensue thereof. Neuerthelesse, we beseech your holie fatherhood, that for the reformation of a decent, honest and firme peace (for the which you haue taken so great paines) you do circumspectlie provide, hauing respect vnto the articles which we send vnto you in writing. It is more honorable for the king, and more agreeable to reason that we should hold our lands in the countrie where wee dwell, than that wee should be disinherited, and our lands giuen to other men. Dated at Garth Celyn.

No. XX.

The Answers of the Welshmen.

FIRST, though the lord the king will haue no treatie of the foure Cantreds of the lands that he gaue his nobles, nor the lise of Anglesey; yet the Princes counsell will no peace to be made, vnlesse treatie be had of them. For that the foure Cantreds be of the more tenure of the Prince, where alwaies the Princes of Wales had more right, since the

the time of Camber the sonne of Brutus : so that they be of the principallitie of Wales. The confirmation of the which the Prince obtained by Otobonus the Popes legate in England, by the consent of the king and his father : as it doth appeare by the letters patents. And more iust and equall it is, that our heires doo hold the said Cantreds of the king for monie and vsed seruice, than the same be giuen to strangers, which abuse the people by force and power.

2 ALL the tenants of all the Cantreds of Wales altogether doo saie, that they dare not submit themselues to the king, to doo his pleasure. First, for that the king kept neither couenant, nor oth, nor grant by charter from the beginning, to the Prince or his people. Secondlie, for that the kings men doo cruellie exercise tyrannie towards the Church and Churchmen. Thirdlie, that they be not bound to anie such matter, seeing they be the Princes tenants : who is readie to doo vsed and accustomed seruice, and to obey the king, with and by the said seruice.

3 To that which is said, that the Prince should simplie commit himselfe to the kings will, it is answered, that none of vs all dare come to the king, for the causes aforesaid, we altogether will not suffer our Prince to come in that maner.

4 ITEM, where the great men of England would procure a prouision of a thousand pounds a yeare in England : let it be answered, that such prouision is not to be accepted, for that it is procured by them, who go about to disinherit the Prince to haue his lands in Wales.

5 ITEM, the Prince ought not to dismisse his inheritance, and his predecessors in Wales, since the time of Brutus, and confirmed by the sea apostolike, as is aforesaid, and to take lands in England, where he knoweth neither toong, maners, lawes nor customs, wherein he shall be soone trapped by his neighbours the Englishmen, his old malicious enimies, whereby he should lose the land too.

6 ITEM, seeing the king goeth about to depriue him of his ancient inheritance, it is not like that he would suffer him to possesse lands in England, where he claimeth no right ; seeing that the princes lands in Wales of his owne inheritance is but barren and vntilled, it is lesse like the king would suffer him to enioie good fertile ground in England.

7 ITEM, the Prince should giue the king possession of Snowdon for euer. Let it be answered, that seeing that Snowdon is of the appurtenances of the principallitie of Wales, which the Prince and his predecessors held since the time of Brute (as it is before said) his counsell will not suffer him to renounce that place, and to take in England a place lesse due vnto him.

8 ITEM, the people of Snowdon doo saie, that although the Prince would giue the king possession of it, yet they would neuer doo homage to strangers : of whose toong, maners,

maners, and lawes they should be ignorant. For so they should be foreuer captiued and cruellie handled, as the Cantreds haue beene by the kings bailiffes and other the kings men handled more cruellie than Sarracens, as it dooth well appeare by the notes of their greefes, which the men of the Cantreds sent to you holie father.

No. XXI.

These are to be answered for Dauid, the Princes Brother.

WHEN he is disposed to see the holie land, he will doo it for Gods sake voluntarilie, not by such inforcement against his will: for he intendeth not to go on pilgrimage after that sort. Bicause he knoweth enforced seruice not to please God; and if he hereafter shall for deuotion see the holie land, that is no cause for euer to disinherit his offspring, but rather to reward them.

AND for that neither the Prince nor his people, for countrie nor for gaines, did moue warre, inuading no mans lands, but defending their owne lands, lawes, and liberties; and that the king and his people of inueterate hatred, and for covetousnes to get our lands inuading the same, moued warre: wee therefore see our defense is iust and lawfull, and herein wee trust God will helpe vs, and will turne his reuenge vpon destroyers of churches; who haue rooted vp and burned churches, and taken out both all sacraments and sacred things from them, killing preefts, clarkes, religious, lame, dombe, deaffe, yonglings sucking their mothers paps, weake and impotent, both man and woman, and committing all other enormities, as partlie it appeareth to your holinesse. Wherefore God forbid that your holinesse should fulminate sentence against anie, but such as hath doone such things. We who haue suffered all these things at the kings officers hands, doo hope at your hands remedie and comfort; and that you will punish such church robbers and killers, who can defend themselues no waies, least their impunitie be cause and example for others to do the like. Uerie manie in our countrie doo much maruell that you counselled vs to leaue our owne land, and to go to an other mans lands among our enimies to liue: for seeing we cannot haue peace in our owne land, which is our owne right, much lesse should we be quiet in an other mans, amongst our enimies. And though it be hard to liue in warre and perill, harder it is to be vtterlie destroyed and brought to nothing: especiallie for christians, seeking else nothing but to defend our owne, being by necessitie driuen therevnto, and the greedie ambition of our enimies.

AND your holinesse told vs, that you had fulminated sentence against all that for hatred or gaines doo hinder the peace. And it appeareth euidentlie who doo war for these causes, the feare of death, the feare of imprisonment, the feare of perpetuall prison, the feare of disinheriting, no keeping of promise, couenant, grant, nor charter, tyrannicall

tyrannicall dominion, and manie more like compell vs to be in warre, and this we shew to God and to your lordship, desiring your godlie and charitable helpe.

FURTHERMORE, if anie in England haue offended the king (as manie doo offend him) yet none of them be disinherited: so if anie of vs haue offended the king, let him be punished and make satisfaction, as he maie, without exhereditating. As we trust in you, we praie you holie Father to labour to this end. If they laie to vs that we breake the peace, it appeareth euidentlie that they and not we breake the same, who neuer kept promise, nor couenant, nor order, made anie amends for trespassses, nor remedie for our complaints.

Rex omnibus, &c.

SCIATIS quod cum Lewelinus princeps de Aberffraw & dominus Snawerden, nobis concesserit & firmiter promiserit, quod stabit prouisioni venerabilium patrum Radulphi Ciceftrensis episcopi & cancellarii nostri, & Alexandri Conuentrensis & Lichfield episcopi, & dilectorum & fideliū nostrorum Richardi Marefchalli comitis Pembroch, Joannis de Lascey comitis Lincolnie & constabularri Cestrie, Stephani de Segrave Justiciarii nostri Angliæ, & Radulphi filii Nicholai Seneschalli nostri, una cum Idnevet Seneschallo ipsius Lewelini & Werrenoc fratre ejus, Imano Vachan & David Clerico, quam ipsi facturi sunt super congruis emendis nobis faciendis, de omnibus excessibus nobis & nostris, ab eo & suis factis & de restitutione nobis & hominibus nostris faciendâ de omnibus terris & possessionibus nostris & nostrorum per ipsum Lewelinum & Wallenses occupatis, occasione Werræ inter nos & ipsum motæ; simul etiam de recipienda restitutione a nobis & nostris, de omnibus terris ipsius Lewelini & hominum suorum per nos & nostros occupatis, occasione Werræ prædictæ, & de assignando David filio ipsius Lewelini & Isabellæ uxori ejus primogenitæ filiæ & hærederis. Gullielmi de Breus, rationabili portione ipsam Isabellam contingente, de terris quæ fuerunt prædicti Gullielmi partis sui, & de refusione pecuniæ nobis, faciendâ, pro prædictis excessibus congrue emendandis & portione prædictâ assignandâ; provisâ tamen super hoc ab eisdem sufficiente securitate de fideli seruitio nobis præstando & de tranquillitate nobis & regno nostro Angliæ, observanda. Ita quod dampnum vel periculum, nec nobis nec regno nostro inde possit evenire. Et si pendente prouisione prædictâ, aliquid de novo emerferit emanandum, idem Lewelinus voluerit & concesserit, quod per prædictos prouisores emendetur. Nos prouisionem eorundem quam facturi sunt super omnibus præmissis, gratam habemus & acceptam pro nobis, & nostris sicut præfatus Lewelinus pro se & suis & in hujus rei testimonium has literas patentes inde fieri fecimus. Teste me ipso apud Salop septimo die Decembris & decimo septimo anno regni nostri.

Rex, &c.

LEWELINO principi de Aberfraw salutem. Sciatis quod recipimus in gratiam nostram, Gilbertum Mareſchallum & omnes qui fuerunt imprisii Richardi Mareſchalli tam de Angliâ quam de Walliâ qui ad pacem nostram venire voluerunt & eis reddidimus omnes terras & tenementa sua quæ de nobis tenuerunt, & de quibus diffessiti fuerunt occasione guerræ motæ inter nos & prædictum comitem, & nobis remanent quæcunque super nos & nostros per prædictum comitem, vel suos imprisios occupata fuerunt quæ vobis duximus significanda. Volentes quod vobis innotescant quæ penes nos acta sunt in hac parte, & quia per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & co-episcopos suos captæ sunt treugæ inter nos & vos sub firma spe tractandi de pace inter nos & vos formanda & fortius firmanda. Mittimus propter hoc prædictum archiepiscopum & venerabiles patres Alexandrum Coventrensem & Lichfeldensem & Henricum Roffensem co-episcopos suos ad partes marchiarum; ita quod erunt apud Salop die Lunæ in crastino sanctæ trinitatis: et rogamus vos quatenus sicut nostram desideratis amicitiam non omittatis quin in crastino die Martis loco tuto & competenti, quem prædictus archiepiscopus vobis significabit ipsi archiepiscopo & co-episcopo suis occurratis ad tractatum cum eis habendum super præmissis. In quorum etiam ore quædam quæ non duximus scripto commendanda posuimus vobis plenius exponenda; rogantes quatinus sicut decet taliter ea quæ reformationem pacis respiciunt & quæ ipsi plenius in hac parte vobis explicabunt audire cum effectu & eisdem ad quiescere velitis, quod non fiat per vos quin firmum & stabile pacis vinculum inter nos & vos roboretur ad nostrum pariter & vestrum commodum & honorem.

Rex, &c.

DILECTO & fidei suo Richardo comiti Cornubiæ & Pictaviæ salutem. Sciatis quod treugæ captæ sunt inter nos & Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw per venerabilem patrem Edmundum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem & episcopos secum adjuntos & quosdam alios fideles nostros propter hoc ad partes Walliæ destinatos duraturæ a festo Sancti Jacobi anno regni nostri decimo octavo usque in duos annos sequentes in hac forma. Quod omnes injuriæ & damniæ hinc inde facta infra ultimam treugam captam per venerabilem patrem Henricum Roffensem episcopum in media quadregesima proximo præterita per dictatores ejusdem treugæ emendabuntur, quod omnes terræ hinc inde occupatæ per ultimam guerram motam, restituentur his quibus postea sint oblatæ, homines etiam illi qui hinc inde recefferint a fidelitate dominorum suorum & se tenuerunt ex parte adversa libere revertantur. Ita quidem quod durantibus treugis prædictis in nullo occasionabuntur nec aliquid dampni vel mali eis fiet occasione prædicta. Adjectum est etiam in eadem provisione treugarum; quod si vos & dilectus & fidelis noster Radulphus de Thorny nolueritis sub eisdem treugis comprehendi bene placebit eidem Lewelino. Sin autem nihilominus, quod ad nos & alios fideles nostros eas firmiter observabit. Et sub tali conditione quod si forte tenere non velletis contra vos se defendet. Ita quod contra ipsum & defensionem suam nullum vobis faciemus

faciemus nec facere poterimus per nos vel per aliquem de marchia vel alium interim consilium vel auxilium ad ipsum gravandum, & taliter sunt treugæ prædictæ ex parte ipsius Lewelini juratæ & asscuratæ & in adventu prædicti archiepiscopi ad nos similiter ex parte nostra eas jurari faciemus & asscurari, & ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus prædictis treugis sine difficultate aliquâ adguiescentes eas teneatis & ex parte vestra eas teneri faciatis. Quia modis omnibus volumus quod eas teneatis & firmiter observetis. Quid autem inde facere proposueritis aperte responsum vestrum nobis sub festinatione scire faciatis. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Junii.

RADOLPHUS Herefordensis episcopus, decanus Herefordiæ, Walterus de Clifford & Walterus de Bello Campo iterum constituti sunt dictatores emendarum, faciendarum & recipiendarum de interceptionibus factis, ut dicitur Lewelino principi de Aberfraw, &c. et Morganô de Carleon quoad castrum Carleon & eisdem dictatoribus associati sunt prior de Wenloc & Joannes extraneus & debent convenire in crastino clausi Paschæ apud vadum de Montgomery ad consequendum quod priore die ad hoc constituto debuisset fuisse executum. Teste rege apud Northampton sexto die Martii.

REX omnibus ad quod præsentis literæ pervenerint. Sciatis quod concessimus bona fide & sine malo ingenio & ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Theoksburiam die Veneris in festo Sancti Benedicti, anno regni nostri vicesimo per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum inter nos et omnes homines et imprisios nostros apertos ex una parte, et Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw et dominum de Snaudan et omnes homines et imprisios suos apertos tam Wallenses quam alios ex alia parte duraturos a festo Sancti Jacobi, anno eodem usque in unum annum completum. Ita scilicet quod tam nos et nostri quam prædictus Lewelinus et sui simus in eisdem terris et tenementis, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuimus prædicto die captionis treugarum istarum. Salva Morgano de Carleon restitutione sua tam de terris quam de bonis et mobilibus suis quæ comes Gilbertus Mareschallus occupaverat, super eum infra treugas alias inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum ultimo captas. Siquid autem interim fuerit foris factum per captionem terrarum vel castrorum vel bonorum mobilium et manifestum de captione terrarum vel castrorum illorum terræ; et castra statim reddantur non expectata aliqua correctione emendatorum treugæ, sed de bonis mobilibus ita captis per ipsos correctores fiant emendæ, treugis nihilominus durantibus in suâ firmitate in forma prædicta. Ita quod hinc inde nulla nãmia capiantur pro aliqua interceptione facta infra treugas istas de bonis mobilibus, nec pro aliqua contentione ante captionem hujus treugæ orta, sed per ipsos correctores fiant. Nullus etiam receptet in potestate suâ imprisios alterius inde emendæ sicut prædictum est durantibus treugis. Nullum etiam castrum novum firmetur in marchia vel dirutum reficiatur durantibus treugis, et terræ sint communes secundum formam treugarum quæ ultimo captæ fuerunt inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum. Juraverunt autem in animam nostram ex parte nostra in hanc treugam bona fide, et sine malo ingenio

fideliter observandam usque ad prædictum terminum dilecti et fideles nostri Henricus de Aldithely. Joannes Lestrange et Henricus de Stafford, in cujus, &c. Teste me ipso apud Theokesburiam, undecimo die Julii, anno regni nostri vicesimo.

SCIANT præsentés et futuri, quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte, et David filium Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et dominum de Aberfraw ex altera, apud Gloucestriam die Martis proximo ante festum Sancti Dunstanni, anno regni ipsius regis vicesimo quarto, de homagio ipsius David quod ipse offerrebat eidem domino regi pro jure suo Norwalliæ et de terris quas barones ipsius domini regis scilicet Griffinus filius Wennuwan et alii barones domini regis petebant versus ipsum David ut jura sua excepta de monte alto secundum quod continetur in scripto nuper confecto apud crucem Griffini per Seneschallos domini regis, quæ ad præsens excipitur ab arbitrio, salvo tamen in posterum jure seneschalli Cestriæ in terra illa si quod habent. Scilicet, quod prædictus dominus rex cepit homagium præfati David de prædicto jure suo Norwalliæ, et quod tam idem dominus rex pro præfatis baronibus suis de consensu eorundem quam præfatus David pro se et suis et hæredibus eorum super omnibus terris prædictis se submiserunt, arbitrio venerabilium patrum Ottonis Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconi, cardinalis apostolici sedis legati; Wigornæ et Norveci episcoporum, et nobilis viri Richardi comitis Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ, fratris ipsius domini regis, et Joannis de Monemue ex parte ipsius domini regis, et venerabilis patris episcopi de Sancto Asaph Idnevet Vaghan, Eynghan Vaghan ex parte præfati David. Ita quod quomodo libet ab ipsis omnibus vel à majori parte eorundem, super præmissis fuerit arbitratum, utraque pars ipsorum stabit arbitrio et illud in perpetuum firmiter observabit; et ad hæc fideliter sine fraude servanda Gulielmus de Cantelupo de præcepto regis juravit in animam ipsius regis et idem David in propria persona sua corporate præstitit sacramentum. Et insuper se submiserunt jurisdictioni et inordinationi præfati domini legati quamdiu in Anglia legationis fungatur officio, ut partem contra præmissa venientem per censuram ecclesiasticam modis omnibus quibus melius viderit expedire, tam ad prædictum arbitrium observandum quam ad transgressionem contra illud perpetratam emendandam valeat coercere, ordine juris observato. Dum tamen idem David vel sui, si forsitan contra prædicta venire presumpserint prius coram dicto domino legato vel aliquibus aliis ad hoc ab ipso deputandis et partibus merito non suspectis in consilio marchiarum loco eidem David et suis tuto legitime communicantur, si ad hoc vocati venirent: vel si legitime vocati non venerint pro contumacibus habeantur nisi rationabile et sufficiens habeant impedimentum, finito vero prædictæ legationis officio sub forma prescripta et coercionis et jurisdictioni domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et successorum suorum et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis se partes prædictæ submiserunt. Et sciendum quod per hanc pacem remanent domino regi et hæredibus suis omnia homagia baronum Walliæ quæta, et remittuntur omnia incendia, homicidia, et alia mala tam ex parte Anglicorum quam Wallensium perpetrata; ita quod ad invicem plene reconcilientur. Salvo præfati David jure suo, si quod habet in aliis terris. Et si forte aliquis prædictorum arbitratorum ante hoc arbitrium completum in fata decesserit, vel per impedimentum rationabile prædicto arbitrio faciendo non possit interesse; alius loco suo substituetur qui

neutri

neutri partium merito suspectus habeatur: ad hoc præfati episcopus de Sancto Asaph Idnevet et Ignan et Griffinus filius Rotherich præstiterunt sacramentum, quod quantum in eis est, prædicta fideliter observabunt et ab ipso David et suis modis omnibus quibus poterunt, facient observari: ad maiorem autem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsos regem et David in modo chirographi. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum ipsius una cum sigillo prædictorum episcopi de Sancto Asapho Idnevet, Ignan et Griffini, et parti penes ipsum David remanenti appositum est sigillum domini regis: his testibus venerabilibus patribus Ottone Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono, cardinali apostolicæ sedis legato; Waltero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, Waltero Careleolensi, Waltero Wygornensi et Gulielmo Norwicensi episcopis; Richardo comite Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ fratre domini regis, venerabili patre episcopo de Sancto Antando; seneschallis nostris Joanne extraneo. Edenyfet Watham, Griffino filio Rotherich, David archidiacon de Sancto Asaph et aliis.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini salutem. Bene recolimus qualiter nos vobis nuper in mandatis dedimus, quod coram nobis apud Wigorniam compareretis ad providendum arbitros qui loco eorum qui primo ad hoc electi fuerint et qui ad partes recesserunt transmarinas, justitiam secundum formam pacis inter et vos provise singulis conquerentibus exhiberent; et in arbitrio prædicto secundum formam debitam procederent et similiter ad justitiam recipiendam de portione uxorem vestram contingente de hæreditate suâ: et similiter ad standum recto super his de quibus seneschallus de monte alto et aliis de vobis sunt conquesti. Et quia ad diem et locum vobis præfixos non accessistis, sed literas vestras nobis misistis; continentes quod tres ex vestris ad nos loco vestro destinastis, ex quibus tantum unus ad nos accessit qui ad præmissa adimplenda nullam potestatem habuit; unde quibusdam ex nostris visum fuerat quod hoc malitiose et ut subterfugium quæreretis per vos factum fuit. Nos tamen hoc non credentes sed fidelitatem vestram adhuc magis probare volentes, vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, præcipiendo quatinus omni occasione postposita personaliter compareatis apud Salop, die dominica ante dominicam palmarum coram fidelibus nostris quos illuc duxerimus transmittendos ad consentiendum in personas certas, ad procedendum in arbitrio prædicto loco eorum qui ad partes transmarinas recesserunt et ad faciendum in eodem arbitrio id quod adhuc restat faciendum; et ad recipiendum justitiam de portione uxorem vestram de hæreditate sua contingente et ad standum recto seneschallo Cestriæ et aliis de vobis conquerentibus. Quod si personaliter ad hoc faciendum venire non possitis tales loco vestro mittatis qui plenam potestatem habeant hæc omnia nomine vestro faciendi. Nos enim vobis et vestris per eos quos ibidem mittimus aut per nosmet ipsos saluum et securum provideri faciemus conductum. Teste rege apud Wudestoeck decimo nono die Februarii.

ANNO domini millesimo ducentesimo quadagesimo. primo, die dominica proxima ante inventionem sanctæ crucis assignata, David filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ

Norwalliæ et marchionibus ad consentiendum in arbitros substituendos loco absentium et ad faciendam et recipiendam justitiam secundum formam pacis conventæ inter dominum regem et dictum David comparuit Thudius seneschallus ipse David, cancellarius et Phillippus filius Ibor clericus ex parte David procuratores; ostendentes literas ipse David, in quibus dictus David promittebat se ratum habiturum quicquid per ipsos fieret secundum formam pacis supradictæ. Radulphus vero de mortuo mari et Rogerus seneschallus Cestriæ et Griffinus pro se et aliis marchionibus comparuerunt; petentes instanter quod secundum dicta testium productorum coram domino Stephano de Segrave, et judicibus suis vicem domini regis gerentibus apud Salop eisdem exhiberetur justitiæ complementum. Sed contra procuratores præfati David asseriebant dictos testes non esse receptos secundum formam pacis. Quare secundum dicta eorum non dicebat nec poterat judicari. Tandem continuata die et altercatione magna super hoc et aliis habitata inter partes, forma pacis prædictæ producta in medio visaque et perfecta loco absentium arbitratorum scilicet domini Ottonis Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis, domini Papæ quondam legati in Anglia Wigornensis et Norwicensis episcoporum subrogati sunt per dominum regem de consensu dictorum procuratorum episcopus Coventrensis, Joannes filius Galfridi et Herebertus filius Matthei, et Walterus de Clifford: quibus data est eadem potestas quam haberent absentes si præsentesset secundum formam pacis prædictæ et assignata est dies partibus à die Pentecostes proximo in unum mensem apud pontem de Manesford ultra Salop ad probanda hinc inde sive per productos testes; non obstante productione jam facta per alios et quolibet probationis genere sive per instrumenta, sive alio modo quæ voluerunt et sibi noverint expedienda; et illa die dabitur alia ad iudicium audiendum secundum probata coram eisdem arbitris juxta formam pacis superius prælibatæ.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ salutem. Ex certâ quorundam relatione didicimus quod vos contra juramentum nobis præstitum quosdam fratres Griffini filii Madoc et etiam quosdam homines nostros de Keri, qui homagia nobis fecerunt vobis confederatis et ab obsequio et fidelitate nostra subtraxistis et fratres prædicti Griffini contra nos in terra vestra receptatis. Tres quidem de seneschallis vestris in succursum eorum qui expugnant dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari destinastis cades et incendia per vos et vestros in terra sua et terris aliorum fidelium committendo, terras etiam quæ in curia nostra abjudicatæ fuerunt Oweno Vaghan et nepotibus suis, eis contra justitiam deforciatis, non permittentes quod executio fiat de his quæ in curia nostra sunt considerata. Quendam etiam navem Cestriæ quæ in potestate vestra applicuit cartata blado et aliis victualibus arefari fecistis per vos et gentem vestram, in nullo his quorum bladum et victualia fuerint inde satisfaciennes super quibus non modicum admiramur et movemur; et multo fortius quod cum nuper misimus nuntios vestros solempnes usque Salop, utpote venerabilem patrem Henricum Coventrensem et Lichfieldensem episcopum, et dilectos et fideles nostros Joannem filium Galfridi, et Henricum de Aditheleg paratos ad emendas faciendas

et recipiendas de interceptionibus factis, tam ex parte nostra, quam ex parte vestra, vos tanquam in contemptum nostrum prædictis fidelibus nostris non occurristis, nec per aliquos de vestris in eorum occursum mittere curastis, quod quidem ægre nos movet cum tot et tantas injurias quas longum esset enumerare contra nos et nostros nullo modo attemptare debuistis: et ideo vobis mandamus quod prædictos fideles nostros tam fraus prædicti Griffini quam homines nostros de Keri quos a fidelitate nostra subtruxistis ad fidem nostram redire faciatis. Non impediētes quin prædictus Owenus Vaghan et nepotes sui secundum abjudicatum est in curia nostra terris suis gaudere possint et eas pacificè possidere. Id etiam quod contra dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari et alios fideles nostros et etiam quod de navi illa Cestrensi attemptastis, sic emendari faciatis; quod nobis non relinquatur materia injurias prædictas gravius ulciscendi quod nollemus. Nec omitatis quin citra festum Sancti Petri ad vincula nobis significetis qualiter dampna et injurias prædictas, quæ nullo modo dissimulare poterimus nobis emendare volueritis. Teste rege apud Merlebergh, quarto decimo die Julii.

SCIANT præsentēs et futuri quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte et senanam uxorem Griffini filii Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, quem David frater ejus tenet carceri mancipatum cum Owen filio suo nomine ejusdem Griffini ex altera; scilicet quod prædicta Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo quo dabit domino regi sexcentas marcas, ut rex eum et prædictum Owen filium suum liberari faciat a carcere detineri. Et ut rex postea judicio Curie suæ secundum legem Walensem ei et hæredibus suis habere faciat super portione quæ eum continget de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Lewelini patris sui et quam prædictus David ipsi Griffino deforciavit. Ita si quod idem Griffinaus vel hæredes sui per considerationem curiæ domini regis reciperent portionem quam se dicunt contingere de hæreditate prædicta, eadem Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino et hæredibus suis quod ipse et hæredes sui imperpetuum inde reddent domino regi et hæredibus suis trecentas marcas annuas. Scilicet tertiam partem in denariis et tertiam partem in bobus et vaccis, et tertiam partem in equis per æstimationem legalium hominum liberandas vicecomiti Salop, apud Salop, et per manum ipsius vicecomitis ad saccarium regis deferendas et ibidem liberandas scilicet unam medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad pascham. Eadem etiam Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo et hæredibus suis quod firmam pacem tenebunt cum præfato David super portione quæ eidem David remanebit de hæreditate prædicta; manucepit etiam Senana pro præfato Griffino et hæredibus suis, quod si aliquis Walensis aliquo tempore regi vel hæredibus suis rebellis extiterit, præfatus Griffinus et hæredes sui ad custum suum proprium ipsum compellent ad satisfaciendum domino regi et hæredibus suis. Et de his omnibus supradictis observandis, dicta Senana dabit domino regi David et Rothery filios suos obsides: Ita tamen quod si de præfato Griffino et Oweno filio suo qui cum eo est in carcere humanitus contingat antequam inde deliberentur; alter prædictorum filiorum eidem Senanæ reddetur reliquo obside remanente: juravit insuper Senana tactis sacro-sanctis evangeliiis pro se et præfato Griffino et hæredibus suis quod hæc omnia firmiter observabunt. Et manucepit quod præfatus Griffinus idem jurabit cum

cum à carcere liberatus fuerit, et super præmissis se submisit nomine dicti Griffini jurisdictioni Herefordensis et Coventrensis episcoporum. Ita quod præfati episcopi, vel alter eorum quem dominus rex elegerit ad requisitionem ipsius regis per sententias excommunicationis in personas et interdicti in terras eorum coerceant ad omnia prædicta et singula observanda. Hæc omnia manucepit prædicta Senana et bona fide promisit se facturam et curaturam quod omnia impleantur, et quod præfatus Griffinus cum liberatus fuerit, et hæredes sui hac omnia grata habebunt et complebunt et instrumentum suum inde dabunt domino regi in forma prædicta. Ad majorem siquidem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsum dominum regem et præfatam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini viri sui. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum præfati Griffini per manum præfatæ Senanæ uxoris suæ una cum sigillo ipsius Senanæ; et parti remanenti penes ipsam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini appositum est sigillum ipsius domini regis: de supradictis etiam omnibus complendis et firmiter observandis dedit prædicta Senana nomine præfati Griffini domino regi plegios subscriptos, viz. Radulphum de Mortuo Mari, Walterum de Clifford, Rogerum de Monte alto seneschallum Cestrie, Mailgun, filium Mailgwn, Mereduc filium Roberti, Griffinum filium Maddoc de Baunfeld, Howel et Mereduc fratres ejus, Griffinum filium Wennwen, qui hæc omnia pro præfata Senana manuceperunt et cartas suas ipsi domino regi inde fecerunt. Actum apud Salop die Lunæ proxima ante assumptionem beatæ Mariæ anno ipsius regis vicefimo quinto.

OMNIBUS hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de Monte Alto seneschallus Cestrie salutem. Sciatis quod ego me constituti plegium Senanæ uxoris Griffini filii Leolini quondam principis Norwalliæ, et manu cepi pro ea erga dominum meum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem, quod omnia quæ conventionavit eidem domino meo nomine præfati viri sui a carcere in quo David frater ejus eos detinet et pro portione quæ ipsum Griffinum contingit de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris suis et quam præfatus David frater ejus ei deforciat, domino regi firmiter observabit. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Actum apud Salopesbury die Lunæ ante assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni ipsius vicefimo quinto.

Sub eadem forma fecerunt singuli plegii præscripti.

SCIANT præsentés et futuri quod ego Mereducus filius Howel, tactis sacrosanctis juravi quod ab isto die in antea omnibus diebus vitæ meæ ero ad fidelitatem domini regis Angliæ, et serviam ei fideliter et devote cum omnibus viribus meis et toto posse meo quandocunque indiguerit servitio meo, et treugam inter dominum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me initam usque ad festum S. Michælis anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto ex parte mea fideliter observabo: et tam ad fidelitatem domino regi in perpetuum observandum quam ad treugas prædictas observandas usque ad terminum prædictum supposui me jurisdictioni domini Herefordensis episcopi, et domini Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis episcopi, vel alterius eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, ut si in aliquo contra prædictam fidelitatem domini regis, vel contra ob-

servantiam

servantiam prædictarum trugarum venerit, liceat eis vel eorum alteri quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit personam meam et omnes meos excommunicare et terram meam interdicere, donec de transgressione ipsam satisfecero ad plenum. Et si forsitán infra prædictum festum S. Michaeli inter prædictum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me nulla pax fuerit formata, licet post festum illud bellum moveant prædicto Radulpho, non obligabit me prædictum juramentum dum tamen erga dominum regem fidelitatem observam continuam, sicut prædictum est. Et si bellum post prædictum terminum inter nos moveatur, nihilominus dominus refustinebit quod ego et mei receptemur in terra sua sicut alii fideles sui. Ad prædicta autem observanda domino regi et hæredibus suis obligo me per juramentum prædictum, et per sigilli mei appositionem quod huic scripto apposui, ad majorem confirmationem prædictorum. Actum in crastino assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

SUB eisdem verbis fecerunt domino regi chartas suas, Owen filius Howel.
Mailgon filius Mailgun. Mereduc filius Mereduc. Howel filius Cadwachlan,
et Cadwachlan filius Howel.

OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerunt, David, filius Leolini, salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illustri filio domino Joannis regis: quod deliberabo Griffinum fratrem meum quem teneo incarceratum una cum filio suo primogenito et aliis qui occasione prædicti Griffini sunt in parte mea incarcerati, et ipsos eidem domino meo regi tradam. Et postea stabo juri curiæ ipsius domini regis tam super eo, utrum idem Griffinus debeat teneri captus quam super portione terræ quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris mei, si qua ipsum Griffinum contingere debeat, secundam consuetudinem Wallensium. Ita quod pax servetur inter me et prædictum Griffinum fratrem meum quod caveatur de ipsa tenenda secundum considerationem curiæ ipsius domini regis, et quod tam ego quam prædictus Griffinus portiones nostras que nos contingent de prædictis terris tenebimus in capite de prædicto domino rege. Et quod reddam Rogero de Monte Alto seneschallo Cestriæ terram suam de Monthaut cum pertinentiis: et sibi et aliis baronibus et fidelibus domini regis scifinas terrarum suarum occupatarum a tempore belli orti inter ipsum dominum Johannem regem et prædictum Leolinum patrem meum, salvo jure proprietatis cujuscunque pacti et instrumenti super quo stabitur juri hinc inde in curia ipsius domini regis: et quod reddam ipsi domino regi omnes expensas quas ipse et sui fecerunt occasione exercitus istius. Et quod satisfaciam de damnis et injuriis illatis sibi et suis secundum considerationem prædictæ curiæ vel malefactores ipsos, ipsi domino regi reddam omnia homagia quæ dominus Johannes rex pater ejus habuit, et quæ dominus rex de jure habere debet; et specialiter omnium nobilium Wallensium. Et quod idem dominus rex non dimittit aliquem de suis captivis quin ipsi domino regi et suis remaneant scifinæ suæ. Et quod terra de Engusmere cum pertinentiis suis in perpetuum remanebit domino regi, vel hæredibus suis, et quod de cætero non receptabo vilagas vel foris banniatos ipsius domini regis, vel baronum suorum de

marchia in terra mea, nec permittam receptari; et de omnibus articulis supradictis, et singulis firmiter et in perpetuum observandis, domino regi et hæredibus suis, pro me et hæredibus meis cavebo per obsides et pignora et aliis modis quibus dominus rex dicere voluit vel dicat. Et in his et in omnibus aliis stabo voluntati, et mandatis ipsius domini regis et juri parebo omnibus in curia sua. In cujus rei testimonium, præsentis scripti sigillum meum appendi. Actum apud Atricum juxta fluvium Elvey de S. Asapho in festo decollationis S. Johanni Baptistæ, anno prædicti domiregis Hearici vigesimo quinto.

SCIENDUM quod illi qui capti detinentur cum prædicto Griffino, eodem modo tradentur domino regi donec per curiam suam consideratum fuerit, utrum et quomodo debeant deliberari. Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda, ego David/juravi super crucem sanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Venerabilis etiam pater Howelus episcopus de S. Asaph ad petitionem meam firmiter promisit in ordine suo, quod hæc omnia prædicta faciet, et procurabit modis quibus poterit, observari. Ednevet siquidem Waugam per præceptum meum, illud idem juravit super crucem prædictam. Actum ut supra. Præterea concessi pro me et hæredibus meis quod si ego, vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini regis, vel hæredum suorum, vel contra articulos prædictos, aliquid attentaverimus tota hæreditas nostra domino regi, et hæredibus suis incurratur. De quibus omnibus et singulis supposui me, et hæredes meos, jurisdictioni archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et episcoporum Londinensis, Herefordensis, et Coventrensis, qui pro tempore præerunt, quod omnes, vel unus eorum quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, possit nos excommunicare, et terram nostram interdicere, si aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi quod episcopi de Bangor et de S. Asaph chartas suas domino regi fecerunt per quas concesserunt, quod omnes sententias tum excommunicationis quam interdicti à prædictis archiepiscopo, episcopis, vel aliquo eorum, ferendas, ad mandatum eorum exequantur.

Rex omnibus, &c.

DAVID filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, Salutem. Noverint universitas vestra me spontanea voluntate mea pepegisse domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ, quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino regi, et hæredibus suis omnibus diebus vite nostre constanter et fideliter serviemus, nec aliquo tempore contra eos erimus: quod si forte evenerit, quod à fidei servicio suo, vel hæredum suorum, quod absit, recesserimus, tota terra nostra erga ipsum dominum regem et hæredes suos incurratur, et in usus eorum perpetuis cedat temporibus. Hanc autem pactionem et concessionem sigilli mei appositione reboravi, et ad majorem hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorensem, et de S. Asaph episcopi, ad petitionem meam præsentis scripti sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Rothetan tricesimo primo die Augusti.

ILLUSTRI viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglorum, &c. abbates Haberconwix, et de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis inquisitores dati a domino Papâ, salutem in domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recipimus in hæc verba, ‘Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbatibus de Haberconwix, & de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis Bangorum diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii nostri nobilis viri David principis Norwalliæ fuit propositum coram nobis, quod cum inter ipsum, quem parentes ejus in alumnum Romanæ ecclesiæ donaverunt, et Charissimum in Christo filium nostrum regem Anglorum illustrem bellum longo tempore perdurasset, tandem postquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem nostrum episcopum de S. Asaph et collegas ipsius de stando hinc inde eorum arbitrio super omnibus querelis juramento a partibus præstito concorditer bonis viris mediantibus compromissum. Idem rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio, sibi super hoc aliquid attentare non licebit in prædictum principem ex inspirato hostiliter iruit ad præstandum, quod super prædictis de quibus compromissum fuerit et juratum, ac aliis ipsius regis, mandare per vim computit, & metum qui cadere poterat in constantem.

Cum igitur ea quæ vi & metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, discretionis vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus inquisita super hoc diligentius veritate, si rem inveneritis ita esse, auctoritate nostra prædictum principem ab observatione sic extorti juramenti penitus ab solventes, sententia, si qua occasione ejusmodi in ejus personam, vel terram ab aliquo forsan tota fuerit, juxta formam ecclesiæ sine difficultate qualibet, sicut justum fuerit relaxetis. Testes vero, &c. Datum Januæ septimo calendas Augusti pontificatus nostri anno secundo. Hujus igitur auctoritate muniti vobis mandamus quatenus in vigilia S. Agnetis Virginis, apud Keyrus in ecclesia Gustesend coram vobis compareatis, super contentis in autentico dicto principi responsuri, si vobis videritis expedire.

*Isti sunt ARTICULI intimati Domino LEOLINO Principi WALLIÆ,
et populo ejusdem loci, ex parte Archiepiscopi supra dicti.*

PRIMO, Quod propter salutem eorum spiritualem, et temporalem ad partes istas venimus, quas semper dileximus, ut plures eorum noverunt.

SECUNDO, Quia venimus contra domini regis voluntatem, cui etiam adventus noster dicitur plurimum displicere.

TERTIO, Quia rogamus eos et supplicamus eis pro sanguine Jesu Christi, quatenus venire velint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini regis, quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus procurare.

QUARTO, Volumus eos scire quod in his partibus domini non poterimus remanere.

QUINTO, Volumus eos attendere quod post recessum nostrum non invenient aliquem, qui ita velit sua amplecti negotia promovenda, qui vellemus, si placeret. Altissima vita nostra temporali corporum pacem honestam et stabilem perpetuo procurasse.

SEXTO, Quia si nostras preces spreverint et labores, statim intendimus eorum pertinaciam scribere summo pontifici et curiæ Romanæ, propter peccata mortalia, quæ multiplicantur occasione discordiæ omni die.

SEPTIMO, Noverint quod nisi citius ad pacem venerint aggravabitur eis bellum, quod non poterunt sustinere, quia crescit regia potentia omni die.

OCTAVO, Noverint quod regnum Angliæ est sub speciali protectione sedis apostolicæ, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna cætera diligere consuevit.

NONO, Quod eadem curia nullo modo volet permittere statum regni Angliæ vacillare, quod sibi specialibus obsequiis est devotum.

DECIMO, Amarissimè plangimus hoc quod dicitur Wallenses crudeliores existere Saracenis; quia cum Saraceni capiunt Christianos, eos servant pecunia redimendos, quos Wallenses captos dicuntur illico jugulare quasi solo sanguine delectentur; immo quod est deterius, quos promittunt redimi, tradunt accepta pecunia jugulandos.

UNDECIMO, Quod cum consueverit deum et personas ecclesiasticas revereri, a devotione hominum videntur multipliciter recessisse, qui in tempore sanctissimo in redemptoris injuriam moverunt seditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes, in quo eos nullus poterit excusare.

DUODECIMO, Petimus ut tanquam veri Christiani ad cor redeant pœnitentes, quia cœptam discordiam non possent continuare etiam si jurassent.

TERTIODECIMO, Petimus ut nobis significant quibus modis velint et valeanturbationem pacis regiæ, læsionem reipublicæ, et mala alia emendare.

QUARTODECIMO, Ut significant nobis qualiter valeat ipsa concordia stabiliri, frustra enim pax firmari videbitur quæ tam assidue violatur.

QUINTODECIMO, Ut si dicant leges suas vel fœdera ex pacto inîto non servari, nobis significant quæ sunt illa.

SEXTODECIMO, Noverint quod etiam posito quod eis derogatum fuisset, quod nescimus, nullo modo licebit eis quasi essent iudices in causa suâ taliter majestatem regiam impugnare.

SEPTIMODECIMO, Quod nisi modo pax fiat proceditur contra eos forsitan ex decreto militiæ, sacerdoti, et populi convocati.

REVEREN-

REVERENDISSIMO patri in Christo domino J. de gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primati, suus humilis et devotus filius Leolinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem et filialem dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, subjectione et honore, sanctæ paternitati vestræ pro labore vobis quasi intolerabile quem assumpsistis ad præsens pro dilectione quam erga nos et nostram nationem geritis, omni qua possumus devotione regratiantes vobis assurgimus; et eo amplius quod contra domini regis voluntatem venistis prout nobis intimastis. Cæterum quod nos rogastis ut ad pacem domini regis veniamus, scire debet vestra sanctitas quod ad hoc prompti sumus, dummodo idem dominus rex pacem debitam et veram nobis et nostris velit observare. Ad hoc licet gauderemus de mora vestra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis est, quam optamus per vestram industriam magis quam alicujus alterius roborari. Et speramus nec per Dei gratiam erit opportunum propter nostram pertinaciam aliquid scribere domino Papæ. Nec vestras paternas preces ac graves labores spernemus, sed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu ut tenemur. Nec erit opus quod dominus rex aggravet contra nos manum, cum prompti sumus sibi obedire juriß nostris et legibus nobis ut præmittatur reservatis.

Et licet regnum Angliæ sit Curia Romanæ specialiter subiectum et dilectum, tamen cum dominus Papa, necnon et Curia Romana audiverint quanta nobis per Anglicos mala sunt illata, videlicet quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis servata nec pacta; deinde devastaciones, combustiones, et ecclesiasticarum personarum interfectiones, sacerdotum videlicet et inclusorum, et aliarum religiosarum personarum passim mulierum et infantum suggestium ubera et in utero portantium, combustiones etiam hospitalium et aliarum domorum religiosarum, homicidiorum in cœmeteriis, ecclesiis, et super altaria, et aliorum sacrilegiorum et flagiciorum auditu etiam horribilium, auditu Paganorum sicut expressius in aliis rotulis conscripta vobis transmittimus inspicienda.

SPERAMUS imprimis, quod vestra pia et sancta paternitas clementer nobis compatiatur, nec non et curia super dicta, nec per nos regnum Angliæ vacillabit, dum, ut promissum est, pax debita nobis fiat et servetur. Qui vero sanguinis effusione delectantur manifestum est factis. Nam Anglici hætenus nulli sexui vel ætati seu languori pepercerunt, nulla ecclesiæ vel loco sacro detulerunt, qualia vel consimilia Wallenses non fecerunt. Super eo autem quod unus redemptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occisorem manu tenemus, sed in sylvis uti latro vagatur. De eo vero quod incepterunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud ignoravimus usque post factum, et tamen ipsi asserunt quod nisi eo tempore hoc fecissent mortes et captiones eis imminébunt, nec audebunt in domibus residere, nec nisi armati incedere, et sic præ timore tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis verò quæ fecimus contra dominum, ut veri christiani per Dei gratiam poenitebimus, nec erit ex parte nostra quod bellum continuetur, dum sumus indemnes ut debemus. Ne tamen exhæredemur et passim occidemur, oportet nos defendere ut valeamus. Cum verò injuria et damna hinc inde considerentur et ponderentur parati sumus emendare pro viribus quæ ex parte nostra sunt commissæ, dum de prædictis injuriis et damnis nobis factis et aliis emenda nobis fiat. Et ad pacem firmandam et stabilendam similiter sumus prompti debitæ modis.

QUANDO

QUANDO tamen regales chartæ et pacta inita nobis non servatur, sicut nec hucusque sunt observata, non potest pax stabiliri, nec quando novæ exactiones et inaudite contra nos et nostros omni die adveniunt. Vobis autem transmittimus in rotulis damna nobis illata et fœdera non servata secundum formam pacis prius factam. Quod verò guerravimus quasi necessitas nos cogebat; nam nos et omnes Wallenses eramus adeo oppressi et supeditati et spoliati et in servitutem redacti per regales Justicianos et Ballivos contra formam pacis et omnem justiciam amplius quam si Saraceni essemus vel Judæi, sicut credimus et sæpe denunciavimus domino regi, nec aliquam emendam habere potuimus. Sed semper mittebantur justiciarii et ballivi ferociores et crudeliores, et quando illi erant saturati per suas injustas exactiones, alii de novo mittebantur et populum excoriandum in tantum quod populus mallebat mori quam vivere. Nec oportet militiam ampliore convocare, vel contra nos moveri sacerdotium dum nobis fiat pax et servetur modis debitis ut superius est expressum. Nec debitis sancte pater omnibus verbis credere nostrorum adversariorum; sicut enim nos factis oppresserunt et opprimunt, ita et vobis diffamant, nobis imponentes quæ volunt.

Ipse enim vobis sunt præsentis et nos absentes, ipsi opprimentes et nos oppressi. Et ideo propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis, sed facta potius examinetis. Valeat sanctitas vestre ad regimen ecclesiæ per tempora longa.

PRIMUS Articulus est talis, cum in forma pacis sic contineatur ut sequitur. Si vero idem Leolinus jus vendicaverit in aliquibus terris quas alii præter dictum dominum regem occupaverint extra quatuor cantredos prædictos, plenariam sibi justiciam exhibebit præfatus dominus rex secundum leges et consuetudines partium illarum in quibus terræ illæ consistunt: qui articulus non fuit observatus super terris Arwykley et inter Dyvy et ductus fluviorum, pro eo quod cum dominus Leolinus dictas terras vendicasset coram domino rege apud Ruthlan, et rex sibi concessisset causam examinare secundum leges et consuetudines Walliæ ac advocati pretium fuissent introducti coram rege ut judicarent de dictis terris secundum leges Wallicanas; parte rea comparente et respondente adeo quod eo die deberet finaliter terminari ex præfixione domini regis qui apud Gloverniam existens diem prædictum partibus assignavit, licet sæpius in diversis locis coram justiciariis fuisset dicta causa examinata, et terræ ipsæ essent in pura Wallia. Nec unquam judicata fuit super eis nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; nec dominus rex posset vel deberet prorogare nisi secundum leges Walliæ: diem tamen ipsam motu proprio prorogavit et contra leges ante dictas, et ad ultimo fuit vocatus ad loca varia ad quæ non debuit evocari, nec justiciam obtinere potuit, nisi secundum leges Angliæ contra illud quod in dicto articulo continetur. Et idem factum fuit coram justiciariis apud Montgomery, cum partes essent in judicio constitutæ et firmatæ, et dies datus ad sententiam audiendam, diem prorogaverunt leges memoratas. Denum apud Londinum post multos labores et expensas varias rex ipse justiciam sibi denegavit, nisi vellet secundum leges Angliæ subire judicium in causa memorata.

SECUNDUS articulus non servatus est talis. Et omnes transgressionis injuriæ et excessus hinc inde factæ pœnitentur remittuntur usque in diem hodiernum. Iste articulus non

fuit

fuit observatus quia dominus Reginaldus de Grey statim cum fuit factus iusticiarius, movet varias quæstiones et innumerabiles contra homines de Tegengl, et nos super transgressis quæ factæ fuerunt in tempore domini Henrici regis, et dicti domini Leolini dum dominum in partibus illis obtinebat unde dicti homines multum timentes non audebant in domibus suis permanere.

TERTIUS articulus, Ubi dictus Rys Vachan filius Nesi filii Maelgen cum terra quam nunc tenet et cum post pacem initam fuit spoliatus de terra de Geneverglyn, quam tunc tenebat cum hominibus et Averii eorundem.

QUARTUS articulus, Item concedit dominus rex quod omnes terras tenentes in quatuor Cantredis, et in aliis terris quas dominus rex retinet in manu sua, teneant eas adeo libere et plenarie sicut ante guerram tenere consueverint, et eisdem libertatibus et consuetudinibus gaudeant quibus prius gaudere solebant, et cum contra istum articulum dictus Reginaldus consuetudines varias de novo introduxit, et hoc contra pacis formam supradictam.

ITEM quintus articulus, Controversiæ et contentiones moræ vel movendæ inter principem et quoscunque terminabantur et decidentur secundum leges Marchiæ de his quæ emergunt in Marchia, et secundum leges Walliæ de rebus contentiosis quæ in Wallia orientur. Contra istum articulum venit dominus rex mittendo iusticiarios usque ad Montgomery, qui ibidem judicare præsumpserunt homines dicti Leolini, vindictum ponendo super illos contra leges Walliæ, cum hoc vel aliud simile nunquam factum fuisset ibidem temporibus retroactis, quosdam incarcerando, alios in exilium mittendo, cum ipse idem princeps paratus esset de eisdem hominibus suis exhibere iustitiæ complementum omnibus quærelantibus de eisdem.

ITEM sextus articulus. Item cum sit contentum in dicta pacis forma, quod Griffinus Vachan homagium faceret domino regi, de terra, de Yâl, et principi de terra de Edeyrnahu iusticiarii domini introduxerunt, in totam terram prædictam de Edeyrnahu cujus cognitio causæ ad principem pertinebat simpliciter, et non ad illos Iusticiarios; et tamen pro bono pacis princeps hoc tolerabat cum ipse princeps paratus esset eidem domini super hoc iustitiam exhibere.

SEPTIMUS articulus, ubi dicitur et licet idem princeps se nostræ ut dictum est supposuerit voluntati, nos tamen concedimus et volumus quod voluntas nostra ultra dictos articulos se in aliquo non extendant. Contra istum articulum exigebatur aurum ad opus reginæ in qualibet solutione facta regi cum Aurum nunquam fuit exactum Wallensibus, nec in tempore domini Henrici, vel alicujus alterius regis Angliæ: quod aurum exfolvit pro bono pacis, cum tamen nihil de hoc tactum fuit in forma pacis vel excogitatum: et nunc insuper exigitur à principe aurum ad opus reginæ senioris matris videlicet domini Edvardi nunc regis Angliæ, pro pace facta in tempore domini Henrici nunc regis Angliæ, cum nihil de hoc tunc fuerat dictum vel quoquomodo excogitatum, videlicet duo millia Marcarum et dimidium, et nisi dictæ Marcæ solverentur, minabatur

minabatur dicta regina quod bona ejusdem Leolini occuparet quæ invenire poterat in domino regis, et homines suos capere vel venundare quosque dictam summam haberet ad plenum. Item cum invitasset dominus rex dictum principem adfectum Wiggorniensem verbis blandissimis promittendo ei quod daret tunc consanguineam suam sibi in uxorem, et multis ditaret honoribus; nihilominus cum illuc venisset in die desponsationis, ante missam petiit dominus rex unam literam consignari à principe continentem inter cætera, quod idem princeps nullum omnino honorem in terra sua teneret contra regis voluntatem, vel manu teneret ex quo possit contingere quod omnes fideles principis ab eo commoverentur. Quam quidem literam sibi sigillatam tradidit, computans per metum qui cadere posset in constantem virum, cum tamen in forma pacis, ut præmissum est, contineatur quod nihil ab eo deberet exigi, ultra quod in dicta forma continetur.

ITEM, cum secundum eandem pacis formam consuetudines eidem principi confirmentur quibus usus fuerat ab antiquo; ac idem princeps et antecessores sui, ex consuetudine diutina et obtenta bona de naufragis in terris suis provenientia consueverant recipere, et in suos usus convertere ad libitum: Justiciarius Cestrensis namium recepit super principem pro bonis quæ recepit de naufragiis ante guerram contra dictam pacis formam per quam hinc inde erant remissa, et contra consuetudines ante dictas. Dato etiam quod hoc esset foris factum namium recepit tale, videlicet quindecim libratis mellis et plures equos ac homines suos incarceravit, et hoc ex propriis bonis principis ante dicti. Preterea, accipit scaphas de Banweys quæ venerant apud Liverpol cum mercandiis per mercatores, et eas numquam deliberavit donec pecuniam pro eis accepit quantum volebat.

ITEM, cum quidam homines de Geneurglyn quædam bona abstulissent ab aliis vicinis suis de Geneurglyn, dum essent in domino principis de Merpyreton homines reges de Llanbadarn prædam fecerunt, et acceperunt de terra principis de Merpyreton, et cum homines sui venissent illuc ad quærendum quare dictam prædam receperant, unum de eis interfecerunt, et alios vulneraverunt, & quosdam incarceraverunt. Et cum in dicta pacis forma contineatur quod in marchia deberent emendari quæ in Marchia committebantur, tamen dicti homines regis homines principis audire noluerunt alibi quam in castro de Llanbadarn, & hoc contra pacis formam antedictam, super quo hætenus nullam justitiam habere potuerunt. In istis articulis injuriatus dominus rex principi & suis, & etiam in multis aliis: et licet princeps tam per se quam per suos petivisset sæpius a domino rege quod pacis formam supradictam erga se & suos faceret observari, in nullo tamen extitit observata sed omni die de novo justiciarii & ballivi domini regis in partibus illis injurias injuriis, & varia gravamina cumulaverunt: propter quod mirum non debet videri alicui si princeps præfatus assensum præstitit illis qui guerrare cœperunt, cum in his fides quam in animam domini regis sibi dominus Robertus Tibetot juraverat in nullo servabatur, & maxima & principaliter cum princeps fuisset præmunitus a personis fide dignis quod princeps foret a rege capiendus in suo primo accessu apud Ruthlan, & etiam fuisset captus si rex illuc accessisset post Natale sicut proposuerat.

Nec gravamina & alia quasi innumerabilia, sancte pater, considerantes, nobis affectu paterno compaciimini, et pro salute animæ domini regis, et nostræ, et etiam multorum aliorum, ad pacem bonam utriusque populi laboretis fructuosæ.

Cum

Cum dominus David primo venisset ad dominum Edwardum tunc comitem Cestrie, ac homagium sibi fecisset, idem dominus Edwardus eidem Davidi duas cantredas, videlicet de dyffryn-Clwyd et Cywonant cum omnibus suis pertinentiis dedit plenarie, et literas suas patentes super hoc fieri fecit, tandem etiam donationem eidem invocavit, postquam creatus est in regem, et etiam illum Davidem in possessionem illarum cantredarum induxit corporalem.

DEMUM domina Gwénlhian de Lacy mortua, tres villas quas in dictis cantredis tenuit quoad vitam quæ ad ipsum Davidem spectabant ratione donationis supradictæ dominus rex sibi abstulit minus iuste contra tenorem chartæ suæ.

ITEM, Cum dictus David ex donatione domini regis prædicti villas de Hope et Eston obtineret in Wallia, de quibus nulli respondere tenebatur nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; tandem justiciarius Cestriensis fecit ipsum ad instantiam cujusdam Anglici Willh. de Vanabel nomine ad comitatum Cestriensem super dictis vilulis ad iudicium evocari. Et licet dictus dominus David petivisset multoties quod injuriose contra eundem non procederetur in dicto comitatu, pro eo quod ibidem respondere nullatenus tenebatur super villis prædictis quæ sitæ erant in Wallia, sed potius tractaretur, hoc sibi plene denegavit.

ITEM, Idem justiciarius Cestriensis in gravamen dicti domini Davidis nemus suum de Lleweni et Sylvas suas de Hope fecit succidi tam per villanos de Ruthlan, quam per alios, cum idem justiciarius in terris prædicti domini Davidis nullam omnino haberet jurisdictionem, et non contenti quod meremium ibidem quærerent ad ædificia exigenda tam apud Rodelanum quam alibi in patria, sed nemus destruendo meremium ibidem factum ad vendendum in Hiberniam transtulerunt.

ITEM, Cum idem dominus David quosdam Fortanicos de terra domini regis qui in nemoribus latitabant cepisset, ac suspendio tradidisset, idem tamen justiciarius ipsum Davidem penes regem accusabat, ac si ipse dictos malefactores defenderet, et manuteneret, quod verisimile non erat cum ipse David dictos latrones suspendi faceret et occidi.

ITEM, Cum esset cautum in forma pacis quod Wallenses deberent in causis suis tractari secundum leges Wallicanas, istud tamen circa dictum Davidem et suos homines in nullo extitit observatum.

DE præmissis vero gravaminibus et aliis petiit idem David aliquam emendationem vel secundum leges Walliæ, vel consuetudines, vel etiam ex gratia speciali; et hoc etiam petiit a domino rege, quorum neutrum potuit aliquatenus obtinere: et cum hoc præmunitus fuit a quibusdam a curia domini regis, quod in primo regressu domini Reginaldi de Gray de curia idem David esset capiendus ut filii sui capiendi pro obsequiis esset, insuper spoliandus castro suo de Hope, et etiam sylva sua ibidem succidenda. Ideo cum idem David multum laborasset pro domino rege prædicto in diversis

guerris tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et exposuisset se et suos variis periculis et injuriis, ac amisisset nobiliores de suis et fortiores, ac multos nimis, nihilominus de dictis gravaminibus et aliis nullam omnino justitiam, emendationem, seu gratiam potuit obtinere. Propter quæ gravamina et pericula, timens mortem propriam aut filiorum suorum, vel incarcerationem perpetuam vel saltem diutinam, quasi coactus et invitus incepit prout potuit se et suos defendere.

Hæc est forma quam dominus rex Angliæ promisit hominibus de Ros, antequam ipsi fecerunt sibi homagium, & illam formam eis promisit inviolabiliter observare, videlicet.

QUOD ipse dominus rex concederet unicuique eorum jus suum, et jurisdictionem suam, et etiam dominium, bonæ memoriæ domini Henrici quondam regis Angliæ, secundum quod prædicti homines de Ros referent ipsos haberent temporibus prædicti Henrici.

ITEM, Promisit prædictus dominus rex supradictis hominibus quod non darentur nec ad firmam ponerentur; quibus articulis concessis præfatis hominibus homagium fecerunt domino regi, et ipse eis promisit ore proprio dictos articulos observare. Hoc non obstante quidam cementarii redeuntes ad villam de Ruthlan, de loco ubi ipsi operabantur, obviaverunt cuidam nobili transeunti cum uxore sua per viam regiam super pace domini regis, qui cementarii per vim proposuerunt auferre a prædicto nobili suam uxorem, et quia ipse nobilis defendit suam uxorem ne ab ipso auferetur, prædicti cementarii prædictum nobilem interfecerunt. Ille autem cui plus opponebatur dictum homicidium perpetrasse, cum quibusdam sociis suis capti fuerunt: et cum parentela prædicti interfecti petierit justitiam a domino justiciario Cestriensi de morte consanguinii eorum, illi de parentela ipsius interfecti fuerunt incarcerati, et interfectores fuerunt a carcere liberati.

ITEM, Quidam homo interfecit quendam nobilem qui videlicet filium Goronu de Heylyn nutriverat, et intersector captus fuit: et cum quidam de parentela prædicti interfecti peterent justitiam de eorum consanguineo a domino justiciario Cestriensi, quidam eorum capti fuerunt, et intersector fuit in castello domini regis liberatus, et adhuc est ibi, denegata justitia prædictæ parentelæ.

ITEM, Quidam nobiles vindicaverunt jus in quibusdam terris, et de mobilibus suis obtulerunt domino regi magnam summam pecuniæ pro justitia habenda per rationem et veredictum proborum et legalium hominum de patria; quæ quidem terræ adjudicatæ fuerunt, prædictis vendicantibus totam terram prædictam cum omnibus ædificiis biadis, et aliis bonis in ipsis contentis. Dominus Reginaldus de Grey; et sic amiserunt primo pecuniam quam pro terra pacaverunt, et postea terram.

ITEM, Jurisdictionis nostræ est quod nullus extraneus extirparet sylvas nostras, nisi prius habita licentia nostra; hoc non obstante, proclamatum fuit apud Rodolanum quod liceret unicuique Anglicano extirpare sylvas nostras sine nostra licentia ad libitum eorum voluntatis, et quod nobis fuit prohibitum dictas sylvas nostras extirpare.

ITEM, Terras quas probi homines a domino Davide filio Leolini bonæ memoriæ habuerunt per donationem prædicti Davidis abstulit prædictus justiciarius a prædictis, probis hominibus.

ITEM, Quando aliquis ad villam de Ruthlan veniret cum mercandiis suis, si refutaret illud quod Anglicus eidem, offerret pro suis mercandiis, statim duceretur ille Wallensis ad castrum, et emptor ibidem haberet rem quam larginaverat, et dominus rex haberet pretium dictæ rei, tunc castellam dictum Wallensem spoliatum et atrociter verberatum deliberabant, pacatis prius portario castri quatuor denariis. Si vero aliquis Wallensis emeret aliquam rem in villa de Ruthlan, Anglicus qualiscunque superveniret, et rem venditam dicto Wallensi auferet ab ipso pro minori pretio quam dictus Wallensis solverat pro eadem.

ITEM, Contra promissionem domini regis prædictis hominibus de Ros, ipse dedit territoriam villæ de Maenam in Penmayn et Lhysfaen.

ITEM, Taurus cujusdam probi hominis deprehensus fuit in patris domini regis apud Ros, et captus, et dominus ejus vocatis fuit ad placitum usque Rodolanum, et fuit condemnatus in quinque libris occasione dicti tauri; bis adivit Londinium pro justitia petenda, et nullam fuit, affectus, et in illis duabus vicibus expendidit prædictus homo tres libras.

ITEM, Quidam nobiles de cantreda de Ros emerunt officia pro certa summa pecuniæ; pacata pecunia, meritis suis non exigentibus, dominus justiciarius Cestrensis abstulit ab eis eorum officia.

ITEM, Quidam rusticus Goronow ab Heylyn condemnatus fuit in 17l. bonæ et legalis monetæ juris, ordine non servato.

ITEM, Goronow filius Heylyn accipit ad firmam territorium de Penmaen et Lhysfaen a magistro Godfrido M. pro certa pecuniæ summa, usque ad finem quatuor annorum, quo facto dominus Robertus de C. cum equis et armis, et cum viginti quatuor equitibus venit ad inequitandum prædictum Goronow, occasione dictæ terræ, ita quod sic non fuit securus transitus nec usque Rodolanum, nec usque ad justiciarios nisi cum forti Warnistura de sua parentela et etiam de suis amicis.

ITEM, In reformationem pacis ultro factæ et firmatæ inter dominum regem, et suos ex una parte, et dominum principem et suos ex altera expresse continebatur; quod omnes injuriæ et transgressiones factæ ex utraque parte penitus remitterentur; hoc non

obstante oppositum fuit contra quosdam nobiles quoddam fore factum tempore guerræ, et statim capti fuerunt, nec potuerunt a carcere liberari antequam ipsi pacarent sedecem marcas.

ITEM, Cum causæ debent tractari et terminari secundum legem et consuetudinem terræ nostræ compellantur homines cantredæ nostræ ad jurandum in causis prædictis contra suam conscientiam, nec aliter jurare patiuntur.

PRÆ nos constavimus trecentas marcas eundo ad dominum regem pro justitia petenda in prædictis articulis, ibidem morando, et ad propria redeundo; et cum nos credebamus habere plenam justitiam de singulis articulis prædictis, dominus rex transmisit ad partes nostras dominum Reginaldum de Grey, cui dictus dominus rex totam terram ad firmam concessit, ad tractandos homines prædictæ cantredæ prout suæ placeret voluntati: qui compulsi nos jurare per manum suam cum deberemus jurare per manum domini regis, et ubi crux domini regis levari deberet, quod crux prædicti Reginaldi levaretur, insignum quod ipse erat verus dominus. Dictus vero Reginaldus in suo adventu ad partes Walliæ vendidit quibusdam servientibus domini regis officia sua, quæ prædicti servientes prius emerant a dom. rege pro 23 Marcis, et illa officia non deberent vendi nisi cum dominium dominorum mutaretur.

ITEM, Dominus rex dedit Maredudo filio Madoc magisterium satellitum pro suo servitio, dominus Reginaldus de Grey abstulit ab eo suum officium, nec a domino rege assequi potuit aliquam justitiam.

ITEM, Unus de consilio prædicti Reginaldi nobis dixit ore tenus, scilicet Cynwricus Fichan, quod in adventu prædicti Reginald ad partes Walliæ, viginti quatuor homines de probioribus hominibus cujuslibet cantredæ caperet ad incarcerandos ipsos perpetuo vel decapitandos: propter ista gravamina, et alia quæ dictus Reginaldus nobis fecit, et etiam propter minas quas ipse nobis intulit, videlicet quod si mitteremus aliquos nuncios ad curiam domini regis pro justitia petenda decapitarentur. Multa alia damna nobis allata, et injuriæ factæ; et quando mittebamus ad curiam domini regis, nuntii non permittebantur nec ausi fuerunt intrare, sed expendebant multa inutiliter; ob ista gravamina æstimabamus nos esse liberos a juramento facto domino regis coram deo.

ITEM, Bledyn Seis et Anjanus filius Genaf de Ros quoddam malefactum fecerunt temporibus David filii Lewelini, & Henrici regis, de homicidiis factis tunc satisfactionem et emendam satisfacere monstraverunt; et modo de novo Reginaldus de Grey vellet et cogetet illam emendam renovare, donec oportuit ipsos terram proprias relinquere.

ITEM, Census et obventiones quos solvimus de veteri moneta per medietatem unius anni ante adventum novæ monetæ, cogerunt nos reddere eis novas monetas pro veteri et hoc sub eodem numero.

Ista sunt gravamina per dominum regem & suos justiciarios illata Rhese parvo de Ystrad Tywy.

PRIMUM est, Postquam dictus Rhys dedit et concessit domino regi castrum suum apud Dynefwr post ultimam pacis formam: qui dictus Rhesus tunc temporis erat in tentilio domini Payn de Gadfry, eodem tempore interfecti fuerunt sex nobiles viri domini Rhys, de quibus satisfactionem nec justiciam unquam habuit quod fuit eis damnum et gravamen.

ITEM, Johannes Giffard calumniavit cum Rhesum super hereditatem propriam apud Hirwryn, quicquid Rhesus inquisivit a domino rege legem patriæ suæ, aut legem comitatus Caermardden, in quo comitatu antecessores dicti Rhys solebant habere leges, quando fierent in unitatem Anglicorum, et sub eorum dominis; quod idem Rhys nullas leges habuit, et suam terram prædictam totaliter amisit; vellent ipsum infringere in comitatu Herefordiensi, ubi nunquam antecessores ejus responderunt.

PRÆTEREA in terris præfati Rhesi talia gravamina fuerunt per Anglicos facta, maxime pertinent ad ecclesiasticos, videlicet in ecclesia Sancti Davidis quæ vocatur Kiangadawc fecerunt stabula, et meretrices collocaverunt, et omnia bona quæ in ea continebantur omnino asportaverunt atque totos domos combusserunt; et in eadem ecclesia juxta aram percusserunt capellanum cum gladio ad caput ejus et eum reliquerunt semivivum.

ITEM, In eadem patria ecclesiam Dyngad et ecclesiam Llântredaf spoliaverunt et combusserunt; cæterasque ecclesias ex partibus illis omnino spoliaverunt calcibus, et libris, ac omnibus aliis ornamentis et rebus.

Gravamina Lewelini filii Rhys, & Howeli fratris ejus per dominum regem illata sunt hæc.

POSTQUAM in formam pacis inter dominum Henricum tunc temporis regem Angliæ et dominum principem apud Rhydchwnna, tunc præfatus rex concessit, et per cartas suas confirmavit præfato principi homagium prædictorum nobilium *exor.* Prædicti So long ac. nobiles fuerunt fideles et constantes cum præfato principe, juxta eorum donationem et cartarum suarum confirmationem: Edwardus nunc rex Angliæ prædictos nobiles dehereditavit, denegando eisdem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ; ita quod non habuerunt terras suas nec per legem, nec per gratiam.]

Ista sunt gravimina, damna, seu molestia per Anglicos illata filiis Maredui, filii Oweni.

PRIMUM est quamquam dominus rex concessit prædictis nobilibus suas proprias hæreditates post pacis formam, videlicet Geneur'glyn et Creudhyn; præfatus vero rex, contra suam donationem et pacis formam, terris supradictis antedictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eidem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ, et Angliæ, atque comitatus Caermardhyn.

SECUNDUM est, Quod præfatus rex in suo comitatu de Cardigan, per suos iusticiarios antedictos nobiles compellit, ut ipsi traderent iudicium super ignobiles ac subditos patriæ, et quod tales homines e comisso iudicium super ipsos opponerent, ubi numquam antecessores eorum ab Anglicis talia sustinuerunt.

TERTIUM est, Quod iusticiarii domini regis curiam eorum nobilium abstulerunt, compellendo homines suos proprios coram eis satisfacere quia de jure coram prædictis nobilibus deberent satisfacere.

QUARTUM est, Quod quoddam naufragium in terris antedictorum nobilium fuit, qui quidem nobiles bona naufragii receperunt, sicut antecessores eorum fecerunt, et hoc non fuit eis prohibitum per aliquos ex parte regis: antedictus vero rex contra eorum consuetudinem et legem, occasione illius Naufragii eosdem damnavit in octoginta Marcis sterlingorum; atque bona quæ in Naufragio continebantur omnino asportaverunt.

QUINTUM est, Quod nullus nostrum in comitatu Uffegd de Cardigan ausus esset venire inter Anglicos propter timorem carceris et nisi fuisset propter periculum Nobilibus Metrop. nihil contra honorem domini regis moverent.

SIGNIFICANT vero quod omnes Christiani habent leges et consuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judæi vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipsi vero in terris suis, et eorum antecessores habuerunt leges immutabiles et consuetudines, donec Anglia post ultimam guerram ab eis leges suas abstulerunt.

Memorandum de quærelis omnium nobilium virorum de Ystradatuy eisdem latis ac factis per Rogerum de Clyfford, & Rogerum Croscil vicem domini Rogeri de Clyfford gerentem contra privilegium, justitiam, et consuetudinem prædictorum virorum de Ystratuy, ut dicunt et probant.

PRIMUS articulus est quod cum dicti Rogeri cogerunt dictos homines de Ystradatuy reddere sibi pro consuetudinibus suis viginti Marcas sterlingorum, et post solutionem dictæ

dictæ pecuniæ cito frugerunt in hanc modum, quod posuerunt super 17 viros iudicantes secundum jus Angliæ; quod nunquam fuit consuetudo nec privilegium dictæ patriæ.

ITEM. Madecus filius Bledyn condemnatus fuit in quatuor Marcio iniuste.

ITEM. Lewelinus Rufus condemnatus fuit in quinque Marcis et 17 averiis contra privilegium et consuetudinem patriæ.

ITEM. Quod ipsi Rogeri fecerunt forestam super terram propriam virorum patriæ: et propter pedem unius cervi inventum id ore canis allcujus, tres homines fuerunt spoliati omnino.

ITEM. Michael ab Ygnstyl condemnatus fuit in decem solidis pro facto patris sui, quadraginta annis elapsis.

ITEM. Cogebant parentes Ennii à Strabonis ad reddendum suum relevagum in vita sua.

ITEM. Quod ipsi posuerunt super nos omnes satellitos de Anglicis, quod nunquam fuit nostra dimidietas.

ITEM. Dati fuimus domino Mauritio de Crumy, et vinditi fuimus domino Rogero de Clyfford, quod nunquam fuit super parentes nostros.

ITEM. Roberti de Monte alto petiit, à domino rege tertiam partem terræ de Monte alto in Ward, et dijudicata fuit coram domino rege quod nunquam dicta terra fuit in Ward data.

Hi sunt articuli questionum illati ab hominibus de Penllyn, iniuste per constabularium Albi Monasterii & suos cives.

PRIMO. Cynwric filius Madoci fuit spoliatus ab eis tempore pacis octo libris, et quatuor bobus, et blado laboris unius aratri, per duos annos et valore trium librarum à tribus hominibus ejusdem; affirmat etiam quod solvet 16 libras per octo in valore, et majorem habuit injuriam imponendo manus in ipsum quam totum quod amisit, quia tunc erat constabularius domini principis apud Penllyn: non fuit alia causa dictæ spoliationis nisi quia dicebatur invenire 24 garbas de decimis in domo cujusdam hominis dicti Cynwrici.

ITEM. Adam Preco condemnatus fuit in septem solidis & octo denariis, et equa valoris unius libræ, imponendo manus in ipsum et liberando latronem dictæ equæ, quia ipse venerat ibidem cum dicto latrone capto.

ITEM.

ITEM. Rndevot ab Gruffydh condemnatus fuit in 27s. nec fuit causa nisi quia vendidit equam unam ad unum miliare citra villam, sicut solebant à tempore quo non extat memoria, quando veniebant ad nundinas.

ITEM. Adaf Ddu condemnatus fuit in 30s. eo quod duo boves quos proposuerat vendere in foro Albi Monasterii exhibant villam ipso conveniente, et captus fuit et detentus usque ad solutionem 30s. nec ipsi boves exierant nisi da Plateo qua stabant usque ad aliam Plateam.

ITEM. Biryf filius Gwyn, condemnatus fuit in quinque solidis, et in carcerem ductus: eo quod percussit unum bovem indomitum ipsum calcantem in foro.

ITEM. Yorwerch ab Gorgonon condemnatus fuit 7s. eo quod evaserat quondam de carcere eorum tempore guerræ, et in tempore pacis inventus fuit in dicta villa, et hoc contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum regem, et dominum principem.

ITEM. Duo famuli Kenwric ap Gruffydh condemnati fuerunt in duabus Marcis, eo quod dicebant ipsos non solvisse toletum postquam solverant.

ITEM. Caducanus Niger famulus constabularii de Penlyhyn captus fuit et condemnatus in 6s. et 4d. eo quod nolebat recipere veterem monetam pro nova.

A servant.

ITEM. Gruffydh ap Goronow *sercinarius* domini Principis spoliatus fuit uno bove valoris 11s. et 8d. et postquam arraveret constabularius cum dicto bove per septem menses, solvit dictus Gruffydh pro dicto bove, 40d.

ITEM. Howel ap David spoliatus fuit per satellites albi Monasterii duobus solidis extra villam, eo quod denegaverat prius munera ut solent satellites petere.

ITEM. David ap Gronow ab Eynion spoliatus fuit 30s. eo quod quidam cives albi monasterii dixit, quod quidam de Penlhyn, qui mortuus fuerat, denegabatur ei in quibusdam rebus.

ITEM. Duo famuli Y bongam capti fuerunt et condemnati in duabus libris, eo quod posuerunt manum in quendam latronem qui spoliabat eos in villa per noctem, et liberaverunt latronem.

ITEM. Eyneon filius Ichael captus et verberatus fuit, et spoliatus duobus bobus valoris, 24s. et 6d. nulla alia de causa, nisi quod boves ipso connivente moverunt se de platea ad iliam plateam.

ITEM. Adaf ap Ychael condemnatus fuit in duabus libris pro una libra, et ipse posuerat in iuramento cujusdam civis de albo monasterio quod non tenebatur nisi in una libra pro principe, nec voluit jurare, et ideo spoliatus fuit una libra.

ITEM.

ITEM. Guyan Maestran spoliatus fuit 5 s. eo quod dicebat quod quidam Mercator de Ardydwy tenebatur eis in quibusdam rebus, cum ipse nec erat de dicta Balliva: item condemnatus fuit in 8 d. quia dicebant ipsum vendere quasdam oves extra villam cum ipse non vendiderat.

ITEM. Famulus Lewelini ab Gwyn spoliatus fuit septem ovibus, et 5 s. et suo pallio, eo quod dicebant ipsum esse de domino Griffydh ab Gwyn cum ipse non erat.

ITEM. Iorwerch ab Meylir captus fuit et condemnatus in 15 s. cum pallio, eo quod denegavit dare munus satellitibus quod petebant, ipsi sinxerunt eum in villa pernoctare.

ITEM. Cives albi monasterii rapuerunt à Madoco Rufo filio Ychael unum bovem valoris, 11 s. et 6 d.

ISTA omnia facta fuerunt per Henricum Gamber dicti loci constabularium, cum aliis innumerabilibus articulis.

ITEM. Ybicre captus fuit in negotio domini principis, et condemnatus in 5 s. absque aliqua causa.

Hæc sunt gravamina Goronow filii Heylyn, viz.

Quod quidem Villanus dictus Coronon vocatus fuit ad curiam domini regis occasione indebitæ causæ. Tunc dictus Goronow venit ad suum villanum defendendum, et petiit pro ipso veritatem à domino iusticiario, aut legem qua utuntur homines suæ patriæ; omnibus autem his eidem denegatis, dictus villanus condemnatus fuit in 27 libris, et tribus obolis: tunc dictus Goronow adivit Londonium pro iustitia habenda, et expendit quinque Marcas et quatuor Solidos, et promissa fuit sibi iustitia, et nullam fuit affectus.

ITEM. Quidam nobilis fuit interfectus, videlicet, qui nutriverat filium dicti Goronow, et ille interfectus captus fuit et deportatus fuit apud castrum de Ruthlan: tunc dictus Goronow et quidam de parentela interfecti petierunt iustitiam de interfectore: tunc denegata eis iustitia, quidam fuerunt incarcerati, et ille interfectus fuit in Castello liberatus. Tunc dictus Goronow iterum adivit Londonium propter supradicta gravamina ad iustitiam petendam, et expendit, 20 Marcas, 3 s. 4 d. Et dominus rex promisit eidem plenariam iustitiam, et nullam fuit adeptus cum pervenit ad patriam suam.

ITEM. Tercio ex defectu iustitiæ oportuit dictum Goronow adire Londonium occasionebus supradictis pro iustitia petenda et expendit illa vice 18 Marcas, 6 s. 8 d. bonæ et legalis Monetæ; et tunc simpliciter promisit dominus rex eidem iustitiam perhibere; et quando credebat habere iustitiam, tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, et dixit aperte quod ipse deberit tractare totam patriam per chartas domini regis, et abstulit totam Ballivam à dicto Goronow; quam sibi dominus rex concessit, et vendidit illam Ballivam ad voluntatem suam, et tunc petiit dictus Goronow iustitiam à domino Reginaldo de gravaminibus supradictis, et nullam fuit adeptus.

ITEM. Dictus Goronow recepit terram, videlicet, Penmaen et Lysfaen adfirmam de Godfrido Merlyn, usque ad finem quatuor annorum pro certa pecunie summa. Tunc Robertus de Cruquer venit cum equis suis et armis ad quærendum dictam terram per vim, et quia dictus Goronow non permetteret auferre dictam terram ab eodem usque terminum præsignatum, tunc vocatus fuit ad curiam dictus Goronow illa occasione; tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, cum viginti quatuor equitibus armatis ad proponendum capere dictum Goronow, vel ad eundem decapitandum; et quia viderunt quod non possent implere suum propositum illo die, vocaverunt dictum Goronow crastino die apud Ruthlan, et tunc dictus Goronow habuit consilium ita quod non deberent adire dictam curiam: iterum dictus Goronow vocatus fuit ad placitum apud Caerwys, et non ausus fuit adire dictum placitum nisi per conductum domini episcopi Asaphensis, quia dictus Reginaldus et sui complures ibidem erant armati.

ITEM. Propter ista gravamina de quibus nullam habuit justiciam nisi laborare et expendere duas libr. quatuor Marcas, et 9d; et quia non ausus fuit in propria persona adire curiam, misit quendam nunciam deportantem duas literas, unam ad dominum regem, et aliam ad fratrem Lewelinum, ad signandum domino regi quod amitteret totam patriam, et dictum Goronow quia non observavit illud quod eisdem promisit; et quia nullam possent homines de Ros et Arglifeld assequi justiciam, et quia noluit corrigere sive emendare ista gravamina propter hoc amisit totam patriam.

SUPPLICANT sanctitati vestre, domine archiepiscopo Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, nobiles viri de Tegengyl, et vobis demonstrant quod cum prædicti nobiles fecerunt homagium domino Edwardo regi Angliæ, ipse rex eisdem promisit quod eosdem immunes observaret et indemnes, tam in bonis, libertatibus, Juribus, jurisdictionibus, privilegiis quibus usi fuerunt tempore Henrici regis per suum obtentum privilegium; ex quibus privilegiis fuerunt postmodo spoliati.

IMPRIMIS. Juribus et consuetudinibus partiz fuerunt spoliati, viz. prædictus Edwardus compellendo quod ipsi procederent in causis secundum legem Anglicanam, cum secundum tenorem privilegii sui secundum legem Wallicanam procedere debuissent, viz. apud Tref Edwyn, et apud Ruthlan, et apud Caerwys; et optimati de patria fuerunt manu capti quia ipsi provocabant quod ipsi procederent in causa apud Tref Edwyn secundum legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam secundum tenorem privilegii.

SECUNDO. Quia unus justiciarius duceret in causis peragendis, alius suus prædecessor in irritum revocaret, viz. in causa Davidis Reginaldus de Grey recitavit, processum quem suus antecessor ratum habuit, et etiam approbavit.

TERTIO. Quod si unus nobilis de patria fuisset propter calumniam sibi impositam captus, quod non remitterent eundem pro cautione *fidei* evadere, quod facere debuissent.

QUARTO.

QUARTO. Quod tres unius nobilis deducti ad castrum fuerunt de Flynt, propter parvam accusationem, una cum averiis suis, nec potuerunt de castro devenire, nec dilationem obtinere donec unusquisque dedit unum bovem constabulario de Flynt, et donec solverunt tres libras Kynwrico Seis pro dilatione habenda.

QUINTO. Reginaldus de Grey terras virorum de Merton dedit et concessit abbati de Basingwerk ordinis Cisterciend. contra legem Wallicanam, et patræ consuetudim; et contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum Lewelinum principem et dominum regem, viz: 16 cantatas terræ.

SEXTO. Mirantur nobiles et optimati patriæ pro eo quod dominus rex fecit ædificare castrum super terram et possessionem magnatum, et mandavit dominus rex iusticiario suo quod ipse solveret eque bonam terram illis spoliatis et adhuc aliquam terram, nec suæ terræ æstimationem sunt consecuti in Flynt.

SEPTIMO. Reginaldus de Grey non permetteret possessores sylvarum uti sylvis suis, donec ab eisdem pretium et præmium fuisset consecutus, et aliis rusticis gratis permetteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere, cum non debuissent secundum patriæ consuetudinem et legem Wallicanam.

OCTAVO. Cum homines de Cyrchynan fecerunt pactum cum domino rege, quod cum ipsi concederent dimidietatem cuiusdam prati, ad hoc quod dominus rex non permetteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere Howelo filio Gruffydd præsentem, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictum pratum infirmavit, viz. concedendo aliis quod absciderent sylvam prædictorum, et eosdem dimidietate prati sui spoliando.

NONO. Filius Kynwrici ab Goronow fuit captus apud Ruthlan culpa sua minime præcedente, nisi vellet pignus suum *acquiescere* a quoddam muliere, et constabularius de Ruthlan fecit eundem detradi in carcerem injuriose, nec potuit exinde deliberari donec prædictus fuit condemnatus ultra suorum bonorum *hypotheca*.

Redeem the
gage.

Velut.

DECIMO. Cum ballivus de Ruthlan erat in convivio apud villam Four Hutmus de Limayl quendam virum nobilem crudeliter vulneravit in præsentia ballivi supradicti; cujus vulneris occasione prædictus Hutmus fuit in octo libris condemnatus: et quum ille cui injuria fuisset facta petere voluisset prædictas libras, eundem fecit detrudi in carcerem una.

UNDECIMO. Nuntii Reginaldi de Grey proposuerunt facere illud quod erat absurdum et dissonum juris secundum canonicas sanctiones; videlicet petere ab eisdem quod ipsi ararent Reginaldo de Grey, et quod ipsi seminarent illam araturam; et illi fuerunt nuntii, viz. Kynwricus Seis et Hutmus de Limayl, quod prædictus vero Kynwricus in præsentia omnium de patria juravit, nisi omnes de patria ararent quod ipsi infra tempus poeniterent, et ipsi multum timuerunt metu qui potuit cadere in constantem virum.

DVODECIMO. Quod præcones de Tegeyngl emerunt officium præconie pro 30 marcis a domino rege, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictos præcones tam pecunia quam præconia spoliavit contra legem et consuetudinem Anglicanam.

TERTIODECIMO. Septem nobiles fuerunt interfecti minus iuste ab Anglicis, et adhuc parentes prædictorum aliquam satisfactionem non habuerunt, cum illi malefactores fuerunt capti; et postmodum prædictos malefactores remiserunt prædicti constabularii impunitos.

QUARTODECIMO. Constabularius unus de Ruthlan detradit duos Satellites domini regis in carcere, pro eo quod ipsi tenuerunt aliquem Anglicum qui grave delictum commisit hominem alium vulnerando.

Openly.

Isti omnes articuli in præmissis nominati, fuerunt perpetrati contra prædictorum virorum libertatem, jurisdictionem, et privilegium et contre legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam; videlicet, quod non erant ausi eorum quærelas domino regi per suos nuncios denuntiare, propter metum Reginaldi et timorem, qui metus potuit cadere in constantem virum: quia prædictus Reginaldus sua voce Dilvada fait protestatus; quod si inveniret nuntios prædictorum quod eosdem decapitaret prout nobis ex parte unius, ex consilio suo fuit certive intimatum. In tantum quod lingua non potest proferre, nec penna scribere in quantum prædicti homines de Tegeyngl fuerunt aggravati.

CONQUERITUR vobis, domine archiepiscopo Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, Lewelinus filius Griffini filii Madoci de constabulario de cruce Oswaldi regis, et de hominibus ejusdem villæ, qui prædictum Lewelinum tertia parte cuiusdam villæ quæ vocatur Ledrot, et curia patris sui, sine observatione juris patriæ suæ vel consuetudine ineqüiter spoliavit.

PRÆTEREA. Prædictus constabularius et sui complures eundem Lewelinum communi pastura, qua prædictus Lewelinus usus fuit temporibus retroactis, ordine juris patriæ minime observare, spoliavit, et in 70 libris occasione prædictæ pasturæ condemnaverint. Cæterum dominus rex Angliæ concessit quasdam literas cuidam Bastardo, scilicet Griffino Fychan ab Cynhaeth, ad litigandum contra eundem Lewelinum pro toto domino suo obtinendo, quarum literarum occasione idem Lewelinus expendit. ccl. sterlingorum legalis usualis monete.

ITERUM. Prædictus constabularius compulsi prædictum Lewelinum ad mittendum duos suos nobiles ad eos suspendendos ad prædictum constabularium quicquid viri nobiles suspendi minime debuissent, quam suspensionem nollent parentes prædictorum hominum sustinuisse pro ccc. libris sterlingorum. Postmodum prædictus constabularius incacerravit bis 60 homines prædicti Lewelini nulla præmissa ratione, nisi quod quidam gareo emisit quandam vocem, nec potuerunt evadere suum carcerem donec quilibet eorum solvit decem solidos pro sua deliberatione.

ITEM.

ITEM. Quando homines prædicti Lewelini venirent ad forum ad suos boves vendendos, prædictus constabularius faceret boves deduci ad castrum, nec postmodum boves restituerit, nec pretium solveret venditori: præsertim idem constabularius et sui ceperunt jumenta prædicti Lewelini ad terram suam propriam, et de eisdem jumentis fecerunt suam voluntatem.

PRÆTEREA. Justiciarii domini regis compulserunt prædictum Lewelinum ad tradendum quandam villam filiis Eneoni filii Griffini; qui quidem prædictam villam, nec a se, nec a prædecessoribus fuerunt consecuti, ordine juris patriæ suæ in hac parte minime observato.

IDEM. Prædictus constabularius abstulit equum ballivi prædicti Lewelini sine aliqua ratione, nec sibi aliquid debebatur; nec adhuc prædictus ballivus satisfactionem aliquam est consecutus.

CÆTERUM. Quando prædictus Lewelinus volebat adire villam quæ vocatur Caerlleon cum literis domini regis ad comperiendum ibidem in die sibi assignata; filii Griffini filii Gwenynny et armigeri domini Rogeri Starainge ex consilio Rogeri eundem Lewelinum et suos incarcerarunt in sui injuriam et suorum non modicam læsionem; quam injuriam et læsionem nollet prædictus Lewelinus et sui sustinuisse pro ccc marcis sterlingorum; nec ab eisdem potuit evadere donec invenit pro se sufficientem cautionem.

His et aliis receptis in scriptis accessit, archiepiscopus ad dominum regem; supplicans ei humiliter ut gravamina supradicta dignetur avertere, et ea correctione debita terminare: et saltem pro tanto habere excessus Wallensium excusatos: qui respondit Wallenses injuriis sibi illatis esse excusabiles, quia omni tempore poratus extiterat omni facere justitiam conquerenti: quo audito, archiepiscopus regi iterum supplicavit ut permetteret Wallenses pro suis gravaminibus exponendis et remediis afferendis ap ipsum habere accessum liberum et regressum: qui respondit quod libere permetteret eos ad se accedere sed et redire; si secundum justitiam regressus eorum meritis responderet. Quibus auditis accessit archiepiscopus ad principem Walliæ in Snawdoniam ut tam ipsum quam Davidem fratrem suum et cæteros Wallenses ad aliquam humilitatis regulam ipsorum animos inclinaret; per quam posset qui ipsorum nuntius regiam clementiam ad ipsos admittendos in gratiam inclinare. Post varios autem tractatus respondit princeps: quod paratus erat voluntati regiæ se supponere duobus præsuppositis, salva scilicet conscientia sua qua populo suo assistere tenebatur; salva etiam condescenduntia status sui. Quæ cum archiepiscopus retulisset domino regi, respondit dominus rex quod nullum alium de pace volebat cum principe ac subditis suis habere tractatum, nisi quod ipsi supponerent se in omnibus regiæ voluntati: et cum constaret archiepiscopo Wallenses nullo modo velle se regiæ voluntati supponere, nisi præcite in forma eis tolerabili et accepta, tractatum habuit ex permissioni domini regis cum magnatibus tunc præsentibus, qui omnes consenserunt in articulos infra scriptos, quos per fratrem Joannem Wallensem inscriptos principi et suis archiepiscopus destinavit.

PRIMO. Quod dominus rex de quatuor cantredis et terris ab eo datis, magnatibus suis nullum vult habere tractatum, nec etiam de insula Anglesey.

IDEM. De tenentibus eorum cantredorum si ad suam pacem venerint, proponit facere prout condecet regiam majestatem, credimus tamen quod agat cum eis misericorditer si ad pacem venerint, et ad hoc proponimus una cum cæteris amicis efficaciter laborare, sperantes efficaciter exaudiri.

ITEM. De facto domini Lewelini nullum potuimus aliud habere responsum nisi quod simpliciter et absolute conformet ad domini regis voluntatem, ut credimus firmiter quod dominus rex cum eo agat misericorditer, et ad hoc intendimus cum totis viribus laborare cum cæteris amicis exaudiendis ut confidimus cum effectu.

PRIMO. Quod procures hanc formam gratiæ regiæ conceperunt; ut videlicet domino Lewelino se regiæ gratiæ submittente, provideatur ei per regem honorifice in mille libratibus sterlingorum de aliquo honorifico comitatu, in aliquo loco Angliæ; ita tamen quod prædictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in Seyfina Snaudonum absolute, perpetue et quiete. Et ipse rex filiæ principis secundum condicestiam sui proprii sanguinis providebit, et ad hoc sperant se posse regis animum inclinare.

ITEM. Si contingat Lewelinum ducere uxorem et habere de ea puellam masculam, intendunt impetrare procures a domino rege, ut proles illa succedat perpetuo hæreditario Lewelini in terra masculorum liberprum videlicet comitatu.

ITEM. De populo principi immediate subiecto tam in Snaudon quam alibi providebiter secundum deum prout complete saluti ejusdem populi et honori; et ad hoc est regia clementia satis prona, populo desiderans consolabiliter providere.

PRIMO. Quod si ad honorem Dei at suum juxta crucis assumptæ debitum velit in terræ sanctæ subsidium proficisci, providebitur ei honorifice secundum condescensionem status sui, ita tamen quod non redeat nisi per regiam clementiam vocatus: rogabimus etiam dominum regem, et speramus efficaciter exaudiri, ut provideat proli suæ.

HIS omnibus motu nostro subjungimus Wallensibus omnia pericula imminere longe gravius quam eis diximus oraculo vivæ vocis: scribimus dure valde sed longe durius est obrui vi et armis, et in fine totaliter extirpari, quoniam omni die pericula nobis imminencia aggravantur.

ITEM. Longe difficilius est omni tempore in guerra esse in angustia cordis et corporis vivere, et semper in insidiis malignari, et cum hoc vivere et mori in peccato mortali continuo et rancore.

ITEM. De quo doleremus valde si ad pacem minime veniatis, indubitanter timemus contra vos debere sententiam ecclesiasticam intolerabiliter aggravari pro excessibus vestris;

de quibus non poteritis vos aliquatenus excusare in quibus invenietis misericordiam, si ad pacem veniatis et de hijs nobis respondeatur in scriptis.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino J. Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ac totius Angliæ primati suus in Christo devotus filius Lewelinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem cum desideriis benevolentia filialis ac reverentiis multimodis et honoribus.

SANCTE pater, sicut vosmet consulistis, ad gratiam regiam parati sumus venire sub forma tamen nobis secunda et honesta: sed quia forma contenta in articulis nobis missis minime secunda est et honesta prout nobis et consilio nostro videtur; et de qua multum admirantur omnes audientes, eo quod plus tendit ad destructionem et ruinam populi nostri ac nostram, quam ad nostram honestatem et securitatem, nullo modo permittit consilium nostrum nos in ea consentire si vellemus; alii quoque nobiles et populus nobis subiectus nullo modo consentirent in eandem ob indubitatam destructionem et dissipationem quæ inde eis possent evenire.

TAMEN supplicamus vestrae sanctæ paternitati quatenus ad reformationem pacis debita, honesta, et secunda, ob quam tot labores assumpsistis, proinde laboretis, collationem habentes ad articulos quos vobis mittimus in scriptis: honorabilius enim est et rationi magis consonum ut de domino rege teneamus terras in quibus jus habemus, quam nos exheredare et eas tradere alienis. Datum apud Garthcelyn.

PRIMO. Quod licet dominus rex de quatuor Cantredis et aliis terris ab eo datis magnatibus suis, ac de Insula Anglesey nullum voluerit habere tractatum, tamen consilium principis non permittit, si contingat aliquam pacem fieri, quin tractetur de premissis; eo quod isti Cantredi sunt de puro principis tenemento, in quibus merum jus habuerunt principes et predecessores sui à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti, tum quia sunt de principatu, cujus confirmationem princeps obtinet pro bonæ memoriæ Octobonum sedis Apostolicæ legatum in Angliā, consensu domini regis et sui patris ad hoc intervenienti, sicut pater Chartas eorum inspicienti, tum quia etiam equius est quod veri hæredes teneant dictos Cantredos de domino rege pro pecunia et servitiis consuetis, quam eos dari extraneis et Advenis, qui et si fuerint regere aliquam tamen per vim et potentiam.

Pope.

DICUNT etiam comiter omnes tenentes de omnibus Cantredis Walliæ quod non sunt ausi venire ad voluntatem regis ut de eis disponat secundum regiam maiestatem.

PRIMO. Quod dominus rex nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec Chartas servavit ab initio versus dominum suum principem et ipsos.

SECUNDO. Quia regales in ecclesias et ecclesiasticas personas inivit crudelissimam tyrannidem.

TERCIO.

TERTIO. Quod non tenentur ad prædicta, cum sint homines principis qui etiam paratus est de dictis tenementis domino regi obedire per servitia consueta. Ad id quod dicit quod princeps veniet simpliciter et absolute ad voluntatem domini regis: respondetur quod cum nulli de dictis Cantredis ausi sint venire ad talem voluntatem propter causas prædictas, nec comes eorum permittat principem venire ad dictam voluntatem modo prædicto.

ITEM. Quod procures regni procurent ut domino principi provideatur in mille libratibus in aliquo loco Angliæ; dicatur quod illam provisionem non debet acceptare cum sit procurata per dictos procures, qui nituntur ad exhæreditationem principis, ut habeant terras suas in Wallia. Item idem princeps non tenetur dimittere hæreditatem suam et progenitorum suorum in Wallia à tempore Bruti, et etiam sibi confirmatam per Romanæ sedis legatum, ut dictum est; et terram in Anglia acceptare, unde linguam, mores et leges ac consuetudines ignorat; ubi possent etiam sibi quædam malitiori imponi ex odio inveterato à vicinis Anglicis quibus terra illa privaretur in perpetuum.

ITEM. Ex quo rex proponit privare principem sua pristina hæreditate, non videtur probabile quod rex permetteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur habere. Et si etiam non permetteretur principi terra sterilis et inculta jure hæreditario ab antiquo et debita in Wallia; nullatenus permetteretur eidem in Anglia terra fertilis culta et habundans.

ITEM. Quod dictus princeps ponat dominum regem in Seyfino Snawdon absolute, perpetue et quiete: dicatur quod cum Snawdon sit de appendiciis principatus Walliæ, quem ipse et antecessores sui tenuerunt à tempore Bruti, ut dictum est; consilium suum non permittit eum renunciare dicto loco, et locum nimis sibi debitum in Anglia receptare.

ITEM. Populus Snawdon dicit, quod licet princeps vellet dare regi Seyfinam eorundem, ipsi tamen nollent homagium facere alicui extraneo, cujus linguam, mores, legesque penitus ignorant. Quia sic posset contingere eos in perpetuum captivari, ac crudeliter tractari, sicut alii Cantredi circum quaque per Ballivos regis ac alios regales alias tractati fuerunt, crudelius quam Saraceni; prout patet in rotulis quos vobis miserunt sancte pater. Ista sunt dicenda pro Davide fratre principis. Quod cum voluerit terram sanctam adire hoc faciet voluntarie et ex voto pro Deo non pro homine, unde invitatus non peregrinabitur Deo dante; qui coacta servitia Deo novit displicere. Et si contingat ipsum in posterum terram sanctam adire bona ductus voluntate, non propter hoc deberent ipse et hæredes sui in perpetuum exhæreditari; immò potius præmium obtinere. Præterea quia princeps, et sui causa odii, ad aliquos concipiendū, vel lucri captandi non moverunt guerram alienas terras invadendo; sed suam propriam hæreditatem jura libertatesque, necnon suorum defendendo; dominusque rex et sui odio inveterato, et causa lucrandi terras nostras guerram fecit: credimus in hoc justam guerram nos fovere, et speramus in hac Deum nos velle juvare, ac in ecclesiarum devastatores

vastatores divinam ultionem convertere, qui ecclesias funditus destruxerunt ac combusserunt, sacra ex eis rapuerunt, Sacerdotes, Clericos, religiosos, claudos, surdos, mutos, infantes, ubera lactentes, ac debiles et miserabiles personas, ut usque sexu occiderunt; et alia enormia perpetrarunt, sicut in dictis rotulis vobis transmissis continetur: unde absit à sancta paternitate vestra sententiam aliquam fulminare in alios quam in illos qui prædicta perpetrarunt. Nos enim qui regalibus prædicta passi fuimus, speramus à vobis super præmissis paternum solatium, et remedium obtinere; et in prædictos sacrilegos eorumque fautores, qui nullo super his privilegio defenduntur, animadvertere; ne præ defectu dignæ correctionis seu ultionis in eos exercendo prædicta mala in perpetuum per alios trahantur in exemplum.

MIRANTUR etiam quamplures in terra nostra, quod consulistis nobis dimittere terram nostram propriam, et alienam adire inter hostes nostros comersando; quia ex quo non possumus pacem habere in terra quæ nostra est ipso jure nostro, minime poterimus in aliena terra inter hostes nostros pacifice conservari: et licet durum sit in guerra et insidiis vitam ducere; durius tamen est funditus destrui, et ad nihilum, nisi Deus avertat, deduci populum Christianum qui nihil aliud quærit nisi sua jura defendere; unde necessitas ad hoc nos cogit, et inimicorum cupiditas non offendit; et vos, sancte pater, coram nobis dixistis, quod vos sententiastis in omnes qui impediunt pacem causa odii vel lucri; sed manifestum est qui sunt illi qui guerant istis causis.

TIMOR enim mortis, et incarcerationis, vel perpetuæ exheredationis, nulla observatio foederum pactorum vel chartarum, tyrannica dominatio, vel multa alia consimilia cogunt nos esse in guerris; et hoc Deo et vobis ostendimus, et petimus à vobis paternum adjutorium, ut patet in literis nostris.

Ad hoc multi alii in regno Angliæ offenderunt regem et tamen nullos exheredavit in perpetuum, ut dicitur; unde si aliqui ex nostris ipsum offenderunt injuste, dignum est ut satisfaciant prout possint sine exheredatione; et sicut in vobis confidimus, supplicamus quod ad hoc laboretis sancte pater: nam etsi nobis imponatur quod fregimus pacem, tamen illi verius fregerunt qui nullum foedus vel pactum nobis servaverunt; qui nullam emendam de quærimoniis nobis fecerunt, ut patet in rotulis.

Primo auditis rescripsit Archiepiscopus Wallensibus in hæc verba:

IN nomine domini, Amen. Cum nos frater J. permissione divina Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humilis totius Angliæ primas, scientes nostro incumbere officio, pro vobis domine Leweline princeps Walliæ ac subditis vestris exponere nos et nostra spretis viarum incommodis et periculis, vestram adjuverimus præsentiam oves erroneas redukturi; et speculatoris fungentis officio vobis mysteriæ vivæ vocis diximus pericula

quæ genti vestræ videbamus luce clarius imminere, subjunctis remediis eorundem; teste optantes altissimo juxta pontificale debitum cuilibet vestrum ecclesiam minime de corpore nostro pontem facere ad salutis litora reducendo. Tandem vestris auditis precibus et angustiis eas ut necessitatis vestræ nuntius præsentavimus regie majestati, quem ab olim ad poenitentes adversarios introitum scimus esse prepitium; ut quidam de vestris et aliis ut nobis certis constat indiciis ipsius clementia abutantur. Tractavimus insuper cum magnatibus et proceribus Angliæ præsentibus de modificacione gratie regie ipsorum assistentia nostra vobis supplicationibus impretranda, cujus modificacionis seriem per servum Dei fratrem Johannem Wallensem vobis misimus in scriptum, una cum consilio nostro quod vobis secundum deum salubris videbatur; vos autem deliberationem vestram nobis in quadam remisistis cedula per eundem, cujus cedulæ perniciosas latebras vobis paterno affectu præsentibus aperimus. Primò igitur distis vos juri nolle nodere quatuor Cantredarum, quia progenitores vestri à temporibus Cambri filii Brui in eisdem juris plenitudinem habuerunt; sed ne simpliciores in vobis de successu hujusmodi gloriantur, salva in omnia pace vestra, vobis licet inviti ipsius radicem originis ex gestis Britonum et Anglorum ad memoriam revocamus. Dispersis enim olim Trojanis pro eo quod Paridis adulterium defenserunt; fatemur progenitores vestræ multitudinis interpositis quibusdam seditionibus fugæ sibi præsidium assumpsisse; et utinam non maneat in eis hujusmodi contagii memoria qui sic libera matrimonia parvipendunt ut spurios et incestu genitos à successione hæreditaria ut dicitur non repellunt, quin potius uxores legitimæ Howeli da patrocinaiz, contra Evangelium dato repudio fama teste, vel potius infamia repelluntur; qualiter demum Brutus Dianæ præfagiis non sine diaboli præstigiis per idolatriam immolato Cervæ Venatitiæ obtentis, insulam Britannicam pervaserit per famosas historias declaratur; pervaserit inquam inhabitatam insulam, agentibus statuta proceris quarum peremit fortissimam Corineus, Gentibus inquam de boreali præfapia quæ non solum verum etiam Scythiam trans Danubium ab occidente nostro per Aquilonis latera usque in Orientales terminos occupavit. Quam ergo quæsumus fecerunt vobis injuriam Angli et Saxone ejusdem generis, si vos processu temporis ab usurpato dominio perturbant: cum scriptum esse noveritis, væ qui prædatis in omne prædaberis. Non oportet autem simplices in radice adulterina processu idolatriæ, et usurpationis spoliis gloriari. Progenitores insuper vestri moderniores, cum enervati deliciis sibi non sufficerent defendendis, obruentibus eos Scotis et Pictis, denegato etiam eis Romani imperii præsidio postulado, ad Germanorum refugium convolarunt, qui venientes repudiarunt, hostes usque in præsentem diem suarum labores manuum manducantes. Ex his causis quum sedet sola à vobis insula olim populo plenâ, vestro proscribente Jeremia, quia propheta tui viderunt tibi vana et stulta; item prædictorum juribus Cantredorum confirmationem legati frivole allegatis, cum non fuerit intentionis suæ jura regia, seu etiam jura civilia et Canonica, sicut nec potuit enervare: pro crimine enim lese majestatis, in quod vos incidisse dicimini, juxta quod scribitur sexta quæstione. Secunda paragrapho; *Si quis cum militibus*, et 22. Quæst. *ultima capitulo* de forma fidelitatis. Omne perit jus hæreditarium et expirat: in Cantredis igitur prædictis in quibus ab olim domino

domino regi ius dicitur adquisitum, et in Saxones ac cetera quæ teneris jure hereditario, nihil potestis sicut nec subditi vestri, ut ex præallegatis videtur, nisi ex sola regia clementia præstolari. Dicitur demum quod populus non vult ad gratiam regiam convolare, quia dominus rex, nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec chartarum fœdera principi conservavit. Et nos quærimus ex cujus vel quorum istud sit iudicio declaratum, nisi per vos qui in causa propria iudicium usurpatis, et per singulas lustrales periodos pacem infringitis, innocentes jugulatis, incendia facitis, munitiones regias pro viribus vastatis; ac domini Howell de quibusdam iniuriarum remediis in lege sua quam vidimus instituit, auctoritate quam ei diabolus delegavit. Præterea in regem insinugatis, dicentes, quod regales ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas crudeli vastavim tyrannide, et consumunt; ad quod taliter respondemus, quod dominus rex prædicta mala nec fieri mandavit, nec rata habuit, quia potius nobis obtulit ultionem, quod quam citò aderit oportunitas ecclesiarum proponit dispendia refacere; quod differt usque ad sedatam guerræ tempestatem, ne si prius fieret destruerentur iterum per latrones. Præterea timetis in Anglia honorem suscipere, ne consequenter vobis occasionata malitia auferatur, cum tamen fateamini quod dominus re nullum suum exheredaverit inimicum; quod frustra vos timere credimus, si legaliter vivere vos et vestri didiceritis, et non a parti cum domino vestro contendere vel certare. Mores vobis et populo vestro causamini incognitos; et nos è contrario opinamur quod expediret vobis omnibus in modum alium et mores penitus transformari. Cum enim sitis sicut ceteri homines donis Dei gratuiti adornati, sed in vestro Anglo devoramini: ut nec ecclesiam juvetis contra hostes fidei militando; nec Clerum studio sapientiæ, exceptis paucissimis, decoretis; quin potius major pars vestrum torpet otio et lasciviis, ut pene nesciat mundus vos esse populum, nisi per paucos ex vobis qui videntur ut plurimum in—mendicare. Deinde scribitis quod creditis altissimum vos juvare pro justitia decretantes; utinam inquam altissimus juvet vos salubriter et dirigat ad salutem. Sed ne ruinas aliquas Anglorum ex inconsideratione sua provenientes vestris velitis meritis arrogare curētis advertere qualiter qui in cœlis habitat fatuos sublimat et elevat ad modicum ut perpetuo alfidat; sic certe oilum populus Dei electus ante harum repertam civitatem pro unius Anathemate confortis versus in fugam quosdam suorum perdidit bellatorum: sic certe quater centena millia bellatorum duodecim tribuum Israel in suo numero et fortitudine confidentes ab unius tribus modico populo, occisis ex 40 millibus bellatorum, per vices varias sunt confusi: cum tamen purgato unius Anathemate, prædicta Civitas finaliter deleta fuerit per illos, qui prius confusi fuerant; et per lacrymas placato domino cum jejuniis, oblatiis sacrificiis, tribus illa quæ prævaluerat prius, per prius confusos quasi totaliter sit deleta; sic certe aliter flagellat dominus filios quos recipit, et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Ista vobis scribimus in cordis amaritudine ab his partibus recedentes, nec prædicare intendimus salubriori consilio, si vobis cœlitus destinetur, nec latre vos volumus quod nullum per vos invenimus excusationis sufficiens remedium, quo obitante minime debeatis in excors Irnam incidisse pernuntiari: dudum latet in Oxon consilio contra pacis regis turbatores, viam autem pacis aliam invenire non possumus, nec adhuc in spe tumus aliud obtinendi.

obtinendi. Sed si nobis aliquid consultius videatur agendum, vobis numquam claudemus gremium, nec auxilium denegabimus opportunum. Dat. apud Ruthelan 18 Calend. Decemb. Ann. Dom. 1282.

LEWELINUS autem princeps Wallie prædictus spretis omnia oblationibus et pacis formis post scriptis, invasit hostiliter terram domini regis Anglie destrucendo eam incendio et rapina, nec non homines terre illius ad se trahendo, et à bonitate pacis regie separando. Qui tamen princeps infra mensem illum ignominiosa morte primus de exercitu suo occisus est, per familiam domini Edmundi de mortuo mari, filii domini Rogeri de mortuo mari; et totus exercitus suus vel occisus, vel in fugam conversus in partibus Montis Gomerici die Veneris proximo, ante Festum S. Lucæ, videlicet 3. Id. Decemb. sub Anno. Dom. 1282. In—decima littera dominicali D. currente.

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- Bruce*, *William de*, lord of Brecknock, massacred the Welsh lords, 313, 314. This was done by the secret influence of the king of England, 316.
- Bruce*, *Maud de*, her death and burial, 330.
- Bruce*, *Reginald de*, marries the daughter of Llewelyn prince of North Wales, 338.
- Bryn-y-Pin*, five miles west of St. Asaph, 288.
- Buellt*, a castle of the English, surprised by Llewelyn, 414.
- Burgh*, *Hubert de*, justiciary of England, accused of a frivolous crime, 360.
- Bwlch-y-ddau-vaen*, a pass over the Conway, 136.

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- Cadell*, second son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the sovereignty of South Wales, 137. His death and successor, 141.
- Cador*, duke of Cornwall, assisted Arthur against the Saxons, 66, 68.
- Cadvan*, son of Jago ap Beli, prince of North Wales, 79. Elected to the sovereignty of Britain, 82.
- Cadwalader*, son of Cadwallon, succeeded to the kingdom of North Wales, and to the ideal sovereignty of Britain, 85. Retired with numbers of his subjects to Bretagne, *ibid.* He proceeded to Rome, and became a monk, 87. His death closed the imperial dignity annexed to the British government, *ibid.*
- Cadwalader* and his brother Owen, sons of Gryffyd ap Cynan, invade South Wales, and defeat the English, 266—268. Cadwalader imprisoned by his nephew Howel, 280. Escaped from

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- from prison, and reduced a great part of Anglesey which belonged to his brother, 284. Forced to reside some time in England, and was murdered by the English, 315.
- Cadwallo*n, son of Cadvan, king of North Wales, driven from his dominions by Edwin the king of Deira, 82. Recovered his dominions, defeated and killed king Edwin, and cruelly ravaged his country, 82, 83. Chosen king of the Britons, 84. Was slain in battle, 85.
- Cadwallo*n, the second son of Jauv, on the death of his brother Howel, usurped the sovereignty of North Wales, 179, 180. Slain by Meredydh prince of South Wales, 180.
- Cadwgan ap Bleddyn*, a prince of Powys, assisted Gryffydd ap Cynan against the English, 235. By a treaty with the English, retained only the territory of Caerdigan and a small part of Powys, 242. Henry I. takes from him his estates, and grants him a pension, 247. The king gave him the territory of his late brother, 249. Murdered by his nephew, *ibid.* His character, *ibid.*
- Caer-ar-Chwyd*, the capital of the Strath-Clyde Britons, 91.
- Caerdigan* conquered by Rhys ap Gryffydd, 293, 296, 302. Bestowed upon Rhys by Henry II. 308.
- Caer Leon*, the metropolitan see removed from thence to St. David, 548.
- Caermarthen*, made by Henry I. the principal seat of government, 257. The castle of, rebuilt by Gilbert earl of Clare, 277.
- Caernarvon*, the castle of, erected by Edward I. 495. The castle taken by the Welsh, the English murdered, and the town burnt, 518.
- Caer Rhun*, castle of, 136.
- Caer Segont*, on the Menai in Caernarvonshire, residence of the Welsh princes, 87, 91, 131.
- Cæsar* (*Julius*) invaded Britain, 4.
- Caledonia*, part of, Agricola conquered, 17. An insurrection there, suppressed by Lollius Urbicus, 18.
- Caledonians* cut in pieces a Roman army, 18.
- Caligula* made preparations for the invasion of Britain, 5.
- Cambria*, or Wales, one of the three original parts of Britain, 3. Divided into six principalities when the Saxons approached to its borders, 75.
- Camlan*, in Cornwall, a battle there, in which the renowned Arthur was slain, 72.
- Camulodunum*, the residence of Cunobeline, 6. The Roman colony there slaughtered by the Britons, 13.
- Cangi*, a number of stout young men in every British tribe, whose business was to protect the cattle, 7.
- Canterbury*, archbishop of, comes into Wales, 494.
- Cantrev*, a hundred *trews*, 113. Contained two *commots*, 149.
- Cantrev Mawr*, the ancient demesne of the family of Rhys ap Gryffydd, 292.
- Caractacus*, son of Cunobeline, a British prince, defeated and made prisoner by the Romans, 8, 9. His speech to the emperor Claudius, 9.
- Caradoc*, a Welsh chieftain, defeated and slain in battle by the Saxons, 96.
- Caradoc*, the son of Gryffydd ap Rhytherch, disappointed in his expectations from Harold, 205. His cruel revenge upon Harold, 206, 207. Attacked, defeated and slew Meredydh prince of South Wales, 208, 209. Dies soon after, and leaves his son Rhytherch his successor in the government of South Wales, 209.
- Garausius*, a sovereign in Britain, 20.
- Carno*, a mountain near Abergavenny, 89.
- Caron*, king of Scotland, in the time of Arthur, 66.
- Cartigern*, brother of Vortimer, slain in a battle with the Saxons, 50.
- Cartimandua*, a British queen, betrayed Caractacus into the hands of the Romans, 9.
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- Castles* in advantageous situations, which shewed great military sagacity, 136.
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- Castles* and towns built by the lords of the marches, 230.
- Cafwallon-law-bir*, son of Einion Urdd, routed the Irish Scots at Holyhead, 26.
- Cafwallon*, the eldest branch of the Cynethian family, prince of North Wales, to whom the other Cambrian princes paid homage, made choice of Mona for his residence, 34, 35.
- Celibacy* of the clergy, resisted with firmness by the church of Cambria, 552.
- Cenric*, son of Cerdic, a Saxon chieftain, 62, 70.
- Cerdic*, with his son Cenric, landed in Britain, and founded the kingdom of Wessex, 62. Landed with a large body of Saxons in Scotland, 65. Engaged in several battles with king Arthur, 66—70. Reduced the Isle of Wight, 71.
- Chamberlain*, in the Welsh king's palace, 155.
- Chaplain*, domestic, in the Welsh king's palace, 152.
- Chester*, battle of, between the Welsh and Saxons, 79. In the possession of the Welsh till taken by king Egbert, 127. Had been demolished by the Danes, and was rebuilt by Elfreda, 141. Edgar received homage there from the princes of Wales, 176.
- Ranulph earl of, invades Wales, and himself and the greatest part of his army were slain, or taken prisoners, 281.
- Christianity*, its introduction and progress among the Britons, 106, 536—552.
- Christians* in Britain, suffered in Diocletian's persecution, 539.
- Church* of Cambria, preserved her independency on Rome, 551.
- Cilgeran*, castle of, taken from the English by Rhys ap Gryffydd, 302.
- Cil Owen*, or Owen's retreat, near St. Asaph, 288.
- Clare*, Richard earl of, to whom Caerdigan had been given by Henry I. murdered by Jorwerth, 269. His countess besieged and gallantly rescued, 269, 270.
- Claudius*, the emperor, and his army, subdued a great part of Britain, 5, 6.
- Clergy*, originally had no distinct *parishes* or *cures*, 555.
- Code* of laws formed by Howel Dha, 144—171. The only edition of it published by Dr. Wotton, 170.
- Coel*, sovereign of North Wales, 22. His daughter Helena was married to the emperor Constantius, *ibid.*
- Colgrin*, a Saxon prince, defeated by king Arthur, 65.
- Columba*, St. an Irish monk, promotes the gospel among the Picts and Scots, 550.
- Commots*, two or more in a *cantrev* in the division of Wales, 113, 149. A *commot* contained twelve manors, 149.
- Constans*, son of Constantine, king of Britain, 37. Murdered by Vortigern's guards, 38.
- Constantine* the Great, enforced the obedience of the Britons, 20.
- Constantine*, though of mean rank, was elected king of Britain, 27. Passed over into Gaul with an army, and was put to death by Honorius, *ibid.* Those who remained of his followers settled in Armorica, 28.
- Constantine*, brother to the king of Armorica, promoted to the British throne, 32. Murdered by a Pict, 37.
- Constantine*, the son of Cadur duke of Cornwall, succeeded his uncle Arthur in the throne of Britain, 73, 74. Was the last king of Britain of the Cornwall family; he afterwards engaged in a religious life, 74.
- Constantine* the Black, the son of Jago, was slain in a battle with his cousin Howel, 177.
- Constantius*, emperor, died at York, his character, 20. Married Helena, daughter of Coel, sovereign of North Wales, 22.
- Conway*, the water of, an arm of the sea in North Wales, 136.
- Conway*, castle of, built by king Edward, 494.
- Cook*, at the royal palace of Wales, 159.
- Cornwall* family, one of the two branches of the imperial family of Britain, 4. Derived from Bran-ap-Llyr, a duke of that province, 22. Several illustrious

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Crida, with a numerous body of Saxons, having forced the Britons beyond the Severn, founded the kingdom of Mercia, 76.
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Cunobeline, a Britiſh king, 6.
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Cynan Tindaethwy, eldeſt ſon of Roderic Moelwynoc, ſucceeded to the throne of North Wales, 91. His death, 124.
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tance, his fleet was deſtroyed or diſperſed, 194, 195.

Cynetha, prince of North Wales, nephew to Helena, 22. His ſons left the Strath-Clyde kingdom, and their deſcendants were the princes of North Wales, *ibid.*

Cynetha, ap Cadwallon ap Gryffyd ap Cynan, had his eyes pulled out, and was caſtrated by his uncle Owain Gwynedh, 283.

Cynfrig ap Gronw, a bard, who mentions Madoc's diſcovery of America, 307 *note*.

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Damianus, ſent by Eleutherius, to inſtruct the Welch in the Chriſtian faith, 106.

Danes, began to infeſt the coaſts of Britain, 123. Joined with the Welch againſt the Saxons, 126, 129. Their hoſtilities againſt the Welch, 131, 140, 141, 174, 177, 178, 181—183.

Daniel, abbot of Bangor in Flintſhire, afterwards biſhop of Bangor in Caernarvonſhire, 550.

David, St. uncle to king Arthur, and archbiſhop of Wales, eradicated the opinions of Pelagius, 547. His age, death and burial, 548.

David, college of St. Aſſer educated there, 131.

David, city of St. ravaged by the Danes, and its biſhop ſlain, 181, 183. Seven ſuffragan biſhops to that ſee, 548.

David ap Owen Gwynedh, prince of North Wales, 306. Took Angleſey from his brother Roderic, whom he confined in priſon, 311. Married Emma, ſiſter to Henry II. and ſent a thouſand ſoldiers to aſſiſt his brother-in-law in France, 312. Obligated by his brother Roderic to retire for ſecurity to the Engliſh ſide of the Conway, 315. Yielded the ſovereignty to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, 319. Attempting to recover the ſovereignty, was made priſoner and confined by Llewelyn, 322. He and his ſon Owen ſlain by Llewelyn at Conway, 329.

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David, the younger son of Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, the favourite of his father, 369. Seized a great part of the territories of his elder brother Gryffydh, and imprisoned him, 371, 372. Succeeds his father in the government of North Wales, 374. On his refusal to release his brother, is excommunicated by the bishop of Bangor, 377. His uncle king Henry advanced with an army against him, 380. His treaty with Henry, 381. Did homage to Henry, and delivered up his brother Gryffydh to him, 382, 383. Offers to hold his dominions as a fief of the holy see, 386. Ravages the estates of the English lords, 387, 388. Henry, with his English and Irish subjects, dreadfully ravages Wales, 389—394. The death and burial of David, 395.

David, the younger brother of Owen ap Gryffydh ap Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, being drawn by Owen to engage in hostilities against his brother Llewelyn prince of North Wales, was taken prisoner and confined, 400. Fled into England, and engaged in the service of king Henry, 423. Was knighted in king Edward's service, 442. His reconciliation with his brother Llewelyn, and the occasion of it, 452, 453. His refusal to consent to take the *cross*, and his answer to the archbishop of Canterbury, 463, 466—468. On the death of Llewelyn, became prince of Wales, 485. Himself and family brought prisoners to king Edward, 487. Relics found on him presented to the king, *ibid.* Condemned and executed as a traitor, 489. His death closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire, 22, 490.

Davies's, Dr. dictionary commended, 112 *note*.

Days of the week, names of, taken from the Saxon deities, 41.

Deira, Edwin king of, extended his conquests over all the British territories in Wales, and the Isle of Man, 82.

— and Bernicia, united into the kingdom of Northumberland, 84.

Denisbourne, in Northumberland, a battle there with the Saxons, in which Cadwallon king of the Britons was slain, 85.

Diganwy, in Caernarvonshire, the residence of the prince of Wales, was once a Roman station, 64, 87, 390. Destroyed by lightning, 123. Rebuilt by the earl of Chester, 330. By Henry III. 390, 393. Besieged by Llewelyn, 405. Taken and destroyed by Llewelyn, 419.

Dinevaur, in Caermarthenshire, ancient residence of the princes of South Wales, 137, 283, 296. Besieged by Henry III. who was defeated by Llewelyn, 402. Taken from the English by Rhys ap Meredydh, 513.

Dijerth, castle of, repaired by Henry III. 385.

Diversions, of the ancient Welsh, 109—112.

Door-keeper, at the royal palace in Wales, 159.

Druids, massacred by the Romans; some retired into Ireland, and the islands of Scotland, 10, 11, 12. Expelled from Scotland, 540.

Dubricius, eminent for piety and learning, had at one time 1000 scholars, was bishop of Llandaff, and afterwards primate of all Wales, 545—547.

Dunothus, abbot of Bangor, 81.

Dunwallon, prince of the Strath-Clwyd Britons who had settled in North Wales, engaged in a religious life, 176.

Dyke, Offa's, from the Dee to the Wye, 93, 94.

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Eadberd, king of Northumberland, took Caer-ar-Clwyd, the capital of the Strath-Clyde Britons, 90, 91.

Eadred, earl of Mercia, defeated by the Britons, 139.

East Angles, the fifth kingdom of the Heptarchy, 70.

Ebsfleete, in the Isle of Thanet, the Saxon auxiliaries land there, the place allotted for their residence, 42.

Edelfrid, king of Northumberland, ordered the monks of Bangor to be cut in pieces, but was afterwards defeated, 79—81.

Edfridus, king of Bernicia, assassinated by the Welsh, 83, 84.

Edgar, king of England, exacts of the prince of North Wales, the yearly payment of the heads of 300 wolves, 173. Confirmed the privileges of the bishopric of Bangor, and received homage of the Welsh princes, 175, 176.

Ednerth ap Cadwgan, his sons drive the Normans from South Wales with great slaughter, 237.

Edwal, a minor when his father Cadwalader the last king of the Britons abdicated his throne, 87.

Edwal Voel, king of North Wales, succeeded his father Anarawd, and was slain fighting against the English and Danes, 141, 142.

Edwal ap Meyric, king of North Wales, 174, 182. Slain in a battle with the Danes, 183.

Edward, prince of Wales, son of Henry III. received from his father the country between Chester and the river Conway, 399. The Welsh and Llewelyn having revolted, he was obliged to retire before their army, 404. Is inclined to relinquish his dominions in Wales, 407. In the subsequent periods of his life, he pursued the unfortunate Welsh with a cruel and vindictive spirit, because they expressed reluctance to his sovereignty, 408. Arrives from France, and marches against Llewelyn, 419. Was recalled by his father, 420. Engaged in a crusade to the Holy Land, 427. Returns at the death of his father, and is crowned at Westminster, 428. Repaired to Chester, and summoned Llewelyn to do homage, 430. Detains Eleanor, to whom Llewelyn was betrothed, 433. Determined to obtain the entire conquest of Wales, *ibid.*

His efforts for that purpose, 434—438. His treaty with Llewelyn, 440—444. He had the coffin of Arthur opened at Glastonbury, 446. Held a parliament there, *ibid.* Pardons Llewelyn on his submission, 447. Delivers up to him Eleanor, 448. Attempts to impose on the Welsh the English jurisprudence, 450, 451. Remarkable action of his, 451, 452 *note*. His preparations for the conquest of Wales, 455, 456. His march into Wales, and hostilities there, 456—458, 469, 470. Was in a dangerous situation, 471. Meanly insulted the remains of Llewelyn, 483, 484. Subdued the inhabitants of Snowdon and all the country, 486. Proceeded against David the last sovereign of Wales as a traitor, 488—490. Annexed Wales to the crown of England, 492. Introduced the whole system of English jurisprudence, and granted the Welsh their liberties, and great privileges, 492—495. Ordered all the bards to be hanged, 496. Sent for the queen to Caernarvon, where she was delivered of prince Edward, 508.

Edwin, king of Deira, conquered Wales and the Isle of Man, 82. He and his son slain in battle, 83.

Edwyn, eldest son of Einion, heir to South Wales, 179. Obligated the chieftains to acknowledge his sovereignty, 182.

Egbert, king of the West Saxons, invaded Wales, 125. United the Saxon Hierarchy into one kingdom, *ibid.* Took Chester, and affixed the penalty of death to every Welshman who passed the limits of Offa's dyke, 126, 127.

Einion Urdd, an eminent British prince, son of Cynetha, 25.

Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dha, prince of South Wales, annexed Gwyn to his father's dominions, 174, 176. His death and character, 178, 179.

Elbodius, archbishop of North Wales, 559.

Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montfort, and niece to Henry III. betrothed to Llewelyn, 431. Detained at court by

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Eleanor, queen to Edward, 446.
Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, sent missionaries to instruct the Welsh, 196.
Elsteda, rebuilt Chester, 141.
Elis, son of Anarawd, slain in a battle with the English and Danes, 141, 142.
Ella, a Saxon, king of Sussex, 59, 60.
Emma, sister to Henry II. married to David prince of North Wales, 312.
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— kings of, contemporary with the princes of North Wales,
 Egbert began to reign, A. D. 828.
 Ethelwolf - - 838.
 Ethelbald - - 857.
 Ethelbert - - 860.
 Ethelred I. - - 866.
 Alfred the Great - - 872.
 Edward the Elder - - 900.
 Athelstan - - 925.
 Edmund I. - - 941.
 Edred - - 948.
 Edwy - - 955.
 Edgar - - 959.
 Edward the Martyr - - 975.
 Ethelred II. - - 978.
 Edmund Ironside - - 1016.
 Canute - - 1017.
 Harold Harefoot - - 1036.
 Hardiknute - - 1039.
 Edward the Confessor - - 1041.
 Harold - - 1066.
 William the Conqueror - - 1066.
 William Rufus - - 1087.
 Henry I. - - 1100.
 Stephen - - 1135.
 Henry II. - - 1154.
 Richard I. - - 1189.
 John - - 1199.
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English, received a terrible blow from the Welsh, 268. Entirely driven out of North Wales, 337.

— barons revolt from Henry III. and join with Llewelyn, 360.

Eppa, a Saxon, poisoned Ambrosius, 61.
Ejca, son of Hengist, took refuge in York,

for Taken by the Britons, 62. Slain in battle, 63.

Essex, Suffex, Middlesex and Kent, given to Hengist by Vortigern, 46, 56.

Essex, from whence its name, 59.

Esfylt, daughter to Cynan Tindaethwy, with her husband Mervyn Vrych, succeeded her father in the government of North Wales, 124, 125.

Ethelbald, king of Mercia, successful in his hostilities against the Welsh, 89, 90.

Ethelwulph, king of England, assists the king of Mercia against the Welsh, 129.

Euda, duke of Cornwall, elected to the sovereign dignity, 24.

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Faganus, a missionary for the conversion of the Welsh, 106.

Fitzhammon, Robert, undertook to subjugate the Welsh, 222—224.

Fitzwarren, lord, warden of the marches, 264.

Fleance, a Scot, had a son by Nest, daughter of Gryffyd ap Llewelyn, from whom the family of the Stuarts was derived, 204, 205.

Flemings, a colony of, settled in South Wales by Henry I. 251. Others of the same country permitted to settle among them in the province of Pembroke by Henry II. 284.

Fortifications, lines of, erected in Caledonia by Agricola, 17. Line of, from the Tyne to Solway Frith, erected by Adrian, 18. This rampart fortified by Severus, 19. Again fortified by the Romans, 28.

Francion, Adam de, killed Llewelyn ap Gryffyd, prince of Wales, 477.

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Games, Welsh, an account of, where to be found, 112 note.

Gate-keeper, at the royal palace in Wales, 161.

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- Gavel kind*, property divided by, among the Britons, 3, 124, 231. Custom of, a fatal source of distress to the Welsh, 264.
- Gauls*, Britain colonised by, 1.
- German, St.* a missionary in Britain, 35, 36, 106, 544—546. Attempted to establish a naval force, 37.
- Gildas*, the historian, disciple of St. German, 546. Censured Maelgwyn, 75.
- Giraldus Cambrensis*, his description of the manners of the ancient Welsh, 97—108.
- Glastonbury*, Arthur interred there, 446. A parliament held there by Edward, *ibid.*
- Gryffydd ap Cynan*, asserts his right to the crown of North Wales, 214. Succeeds Trahaearn, who was slain in battle, 216. Betrayed into the hands of the English, and remained long in captivity, 217, 218. Rescued from prison, 234. Unable to defend Anglesey, he withdrew into Ireland, 240. Returned two years after, and concluded a peace with the English, 242. Repaired to Henry's court, and was received with honour, 255. Contrary to honour and friendship, would have delivered up Gryffydd ap Rhys to Henry, 256, 257. At Henry's death, joined the Welsh in their general revolt from the English, 265. His death and burial, 271. His character, 271—273.
- Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn*, one of the chieftains in Powys, banished by Llewelyn, 408. Returned to his allegiance, and took and demolished the castle of Mold, 420.
- Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyllt*, having defeated and slain Jago ap Edwal, succeeded him in the government of North Wales, 190. Received the submission of the inhabitants of South Wales, 191. but was opposed by Howel and other competitors, 191—193. Joins with Algar earl of Chester in ravaging the borders of England, 196, 197. Had a narrow escape from the English, 199. His country subdued in his absence, 200, 201. Put to death by his own subjects, 202. His character, 202, 203.
- Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Jorwerth*, was very brave, 328. Undutiful to his father, 248. Imprisoned by his father six years, 367. His younger brother David seized on a great part of his territories, and imprisoned him, 371, 372. Efforts for his release while David reigned, 376—380. Received from David by Henry, and confined in the Tower, 383. Killed in an attempt to escape, 384. His remains honourably interred, 399.
- Gryffydd ap Madoc*, lord of Dinas-Bran, submitted to Llewelyn, 408, 410. His death and burial, 427 *note*.
- Gryffydd Maelor*, son of Madoc ap Meredydd, his death, 317.
- Gryffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr*, having remained in Ireland for safety, returned at the age of twenty-five into South Wales, 254. For fear of king Henry, seeks protection with Gryffydd ap Cynan king of North Wales, 255. Makes his escape from Gryffydd, to avoid being delivered up to Henry, 256, 257. Takes several fortresses from the English, 257, 258. The chieftains of Caerdigan espouse his cause, 258, 259. His death and character, 270.
- Gryffydd ap Rhytherch ap Jestyn*, in endeavouring to wrest South Wales from Gryffydd king of North Wales, lost his life, 195, 196.
- Gryffydd ap yr Ynad Goch*, a bard, 481.
- Gueniver*, Arthur's queen, 71, 73.
- Gutwin Owen*, a poet, 307 *note*.
- Gwedir* family, history of, 493 *note*.
- Gwenlbrian*, an assertion concerning her contradicted, 266 *note*.
- Gwenwynwyn*, lord of the higher Powys, son of Owen Cyveilioc, his hostilities with the English, 323, 324. Made his submission to Llewelyn, 327. Detained by the English at Shrewsbury, and Llewelyn gained possession of his territories, 329. Joins with king John as his vassal, 330, 331. His territories laid waste by Llewelyn, 340. Was succeeded by his son Gryffydd, 378.
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Gwynr, taken and laid waste by Einion the son of Owen, 174, 176. and by Meredydh and Rhys, 282.

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Hawks, the master of, at the royal palace in Wales, 153.

Heir apparent to the king of North Wales, 151.

Helena, daughter of Coel prince of North Wales, married to the emperor Constantius, 22.

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Hengist, a Saxon prince, assists the Britons, 41—43. Feasts the British king Vortigern, and gives him his daughter Rowenna in marriage, 45, 46. Made sovereign of Kent, and has the possession of Essex, Suffex, and Middlesex, 46. Fights against the Britons by land and sea, 50. Obligated with his troops to retire into Germany, 51. Returns into Britain with four thousand Saxons, and imposes on Vortigern, 53, 54. Massacred above 300 of the British nobility, 55. Is confirmed in the possession of his former territories, 56. Sends for more Saxons, and plants colonies in Essex and Middlesex, 59. Is defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded by Ambrosius, 60.

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- Wales*, English princes of; Edward, son of Henry III. 385. Edward, son of Edward I. 509.
- Walter*, an illegitimate son of Nést, the daughter of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, was appointed Lord Steward of Scotland, and from his office his descendants took the name of Stuart, 204, 205.
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- Watchman* of the palace of the king of Wales, 162.
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- , united with the Danes against the Saxons, 126.
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- , reduced to the greatest distress by the depredations of the Irish and English, 394. Entirely conquered, 490. Their character, 403, 490, 491, 525. Declared that they would not obey one who was not a native of Wales, or a resident there, 508. Raised insurrections after they were conquered, 513—523. Petition for an union with England, 528—533. which was granted them by act of parliament, 533—535.
- Welsh Chronicle*, extract from, 211.
- Wessex*, the kingdom of, founded, 62, 70.
- Widdrington*, at the battle of, Cadwallon routed by Edwin king of Deira, 82.
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- William of Normandy*, while he conquered England, the Welsh were inactive,

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NAMES of PLACES, and some other Words, BRITISH and ENGLISH.

A*BER*, that point where a river discharges itself into another river or the sea.

Aberdaugleddau, Milford Haven.

Abergenni, Abergavenny.

Aberhonddu, Brecknock.

Alth, Allectus, the name of a prince.

Ap, son.

Arddyfeich, inhabitants north of the Dyfi; Ordovices.

Arghwydhi, lords.

Bairdd, bards.

Bela, martin.

Brenhin Cymru Oll, king of all Wales.

Brenhin Prydain Oll, king of all Britain.

Brigantwys, first-comers, Brigantes.

Bryneich, Bernicia.

Caer-ar-Chynd, a town standing on the Clyde; Dun Barton.

Caer Badan, Bath; by Ptolemy, Aquæ Calidæ; by the Saxons, Bathæ.

Caer Efrog, York; Euerwyke, by the Saxons; Eboracum, by the Romans.

Caer Gawr, Stone-henge.

Caer-Lleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy, the city of the legions upon the water of Dee; Chester; by the Saxons, Legan-Cestre; in Latin, Deva.

Caer-Lleon-ar-Wyfg, the city of legions upon the river Uſke.

Caer Ludd, from king Ludd; Llundain; London.

Caer Went, Winchester.

Camaled-ddin, and *Camddin*, Camulodunum.

Cantref Coch, the forest of Dean.

Caradog, Caractacus.

Caron, Carausius.

Caswallan, Cassivellaunus.

Cathgoed, polecat.

Cefn-y-bedd, the top of the grave.

Clawdd Offa, Offa's dyke.

Corn-buslin, cornet, or bugle horn.

Cymru, Wales.

Cymry, the Welsh.

Cyndeyrn, Cartigern, (Vortimer's brother.)

Cynfelyn, Cunobeline.

Cynwyl, or chief water, Conway.

Cystenyn Ddu, Constantine the Black.

NAMES, &c. BRITISH AND ENGLISH.

Deifr, Deira.

Deryddan, or *Drywidion*, Druids.

Dial Rodri, Roderic's revenge.

Dinas Beli, from having been the residence of Belus; originally Tronewydd; London.

Dinas Vawr, or the great palace; *Dinevawr*.

Dinbech, Denbigh.

Dinwydr, Widdrington.

Dinoeth, Dunothus (abbot of Bangor.)

Dyfed, Pembroke.

Emrys Wledig, Ambrosius.

Gluwmaen, the tribute of the black army.

Goch, red head.

Goeangiaid, a number of stout young men belonging to each nation, whose business was to protect the cattle; Cangi.

Gwrthefyr Fendigaid, eldest son Vortimer.

Gwrthefyrn Gwrthenau, Vortigern.

Gwy, Wye.

Gwydd, (a conspicuous place;) Isle of Wight.

Gwynedd, p. 21. *Gwynedh*, p. 135. North Wales; the *Venedocia* of the Romans.

Gwyr-y-mars, the men of Mercia.

Hafren, Severn.

Hen Fynyw, Menevia.

Ifekwyr, Lowlanders.

Iwrb, roebuck.

Law-bir, long-handed.

Llanymddyfri, Llandovery.

Lloegr, England.

Lhydaw, (along the water) Armorica.

Macfen Wledig, Maximus.

Maelged, a tribute.

Maes Mawr, Salisbury plains.

Manaw, Isle of Man.

Medd, mead.

Middrawd, Mordred.

Pengwern, (the head of a place where alders grow) Mathraual.

Pentillion, *stanzas*.

Pibgorn, pipe, (a musical instrument.)

Rhuddlan, red banks.

Rhyd Ychen, the ford of Oxen; by the Saxons, Oxenford; Oxford.

Saeson, Saxons.

Saesonaeg, the Saxon language.

Seaxes, a scythe.

Sirigi, the rover.

Tabwrdd, tabret.

Tafwyf, or Tame water; Thames.

Tegeingl, Tegenia by the Romans; Englefeld by the Saxons; a part of Strath-Clwyd.

Telyn, harp.

Teyrnged, royal tribute.

Trallwng, Pool (in Montgomeryshire).

Treffynnon, Holywell.

Tre'n-obantwys, Trinobantes.

Tronewydd, or New Troy; London.

Ty Dewi, St. David, formerly Menevia.

Ty Gwyn ar Daf, Whiteland in Caermarthenshire.

Tywi, the river Towy in Caermarthenshire.

Uchcymiaid, upper settlers; Iceni.

Wledig, illustrious.

Ynys Afallon, or *Ynys Wydrin*, Glastonbury abbey.

Yryri, mountains of snow, Snowdon.

Ystrad Clwyd, Strath-Clyde.

Ystrad Fflur, Strata-Florida, (in the county of Caerdigan.)

Ystradgwy, bordering on the Wye; Radnorshire.

Ystrad Tiwi, the banks of the Towy.

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